

THE
WORKS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D.
DEAN OF ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN;
CONTAINING
ADDITIONAL LETTERS, TRACTS, AND POEMS,
NOT HITHERTO PUBLISHED;
WITH
NOTES,
AND
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
BY
WALTER SCOTT, ESQ.

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JOURNAL TO STELLA,

CONTINUED.

LETTER XXXVIII.

London, December 29, 1711.

I PUT my letter in this evening, after coming from dinner at Ned Southwell's, where I drank very good Irish wine, and we were in great joy at this happy turn of affairs. The queen has been at last persuaded to her own interest and security, and I freely think she must have made both herself and kingdom very unhappy, if she had done otherwise. It is still a mighty secret that Masham is to be one of the new lords; they say he does not yet know it himself; but the queen is to surprise him with it. Mr Secretary will be a lord at the end of the session; but they want him still in parliament. After all, it is a strange unhappy necessity of making so many peers together; but the queen has drawn it upon herself, by her confounded trimming and moderation. Three, as I told you, are of our society.

30. I writ the dean and you a lie yesterday ; for the Duke of Somerset is not yet turned out. I was to-day at court, and resolved to be very civil to the Whigs ; but saw few there. When I was in the bed-chamber talking to Lord Rochester, he went up to Lady Burlington, who asked him, who I was ; and Lady Sunderland and she whispered about me : I desired Lord Rochester to tell Lady Sunderland, I doubted she was not as much in love with me as I was with her ; but he would not deliver my message. The Duchess of Shrewsbury came running up to me, and clapped her fan up to hide us from the company, and we gave one another joy of this change ; but sighed when we reflected on the Somerset family not being out. The secretary and I, and brother Bathurst, and Lord Windsor, dined with the Duke of Ormond. Bathurst and Windsor are to be two of the new lords. I desired my Lord Radnor's brother, at court to-day, to let my lord know I would call on him at six, which I did, and was arguing with him three hours to bring him over to us, and I spoke so closely, that I believe he will be tractable ; but he is a scoundrel, and though I said I only talked for my love to him, I told a lie ; for I did not care if he were hanged : but every one gained over is of consequence. The Duke of Marlborough was at court to-day, and nobody hardly took notice of him. Masham's being a lord begins to take wind : nothing at court can be kept a secret. Wednesday will be a great day : you shall know more.

31. Our frost is broken since yesterday, and it is very slabbery ; yet I walked to the city and dined, and ordered some things with the printer. I have settled Dr King in the Gazette ;* it will be worth

* " This office, through the kind intercession of Swift, was bestowed upon King, in a manner the most agreeable to his indolent

two hundred pounds a year to him. Our new lords patents are passed: I don't like the expedient, if we could have found any other. I see I have said this before. I hear the Duke of Marlborough is turned out of all his employments: I shall know to-morrow, when I am to carry Dr King to dine with the secretary.—These are strong remedies; pray God the patient is able to bear them. The last ministry people are utterly desperate.

Jan. 1. Now I wish my dearest little MD many happy new years; yes, both Dingley and Stella, ay and Presto too, many happy new years. I dined with the secretary, and it is true that the Duke of Marlborough is turned out of all. The Duke of Ormond has got his regiment of foot-guards, I know not who has the rest. If the ministry be not sure of a peace, I shall wonder at this step, and do not approve it at best. The queen and lord-treasurer mortally hate the Duke of Marlborough, and to that he owes his fall, more than to his other faults: unless he has been tampering too far with his party, of which I have not heard any particulars; however it be, the world abroad will blame us. I confess my belief, that he has not one good quality in the world beside that of a general, and

temper, since he had not even the labour of solicitation. On the last day of September 1711, Swift, with Dr Freind, Prior, and several other Tory wits, came in a sort of procession, and delivered to King the key of the Gazetteer office, and of the Paper office; and the next day the new Gazetteer had the honour of dining with Mr St John, and thanking him for his patronage, over a table loaded with good cheer. But all these things profited nothing; for in a short half year, King found the drudgery of correcting the paper so very dissonant from his habits, that in mid-summer 1712, he fairly resigned an office sufficient to provide for necessities, which he hardly otherwise knew how to satisfy." *Life of Dr King* prefixed to the edition of his Works, 1776.

even that I have heard denied by several great soldiers.* But we have had constant success in arms while he commanded. Opinion is a mighty matter in war, and I doubt the French think it impossible to conquer an army that he leads, and our soldiers think the same; and how far even this step may encourage the French to play tricks with us, no man knows. I do not love to see personal resentment mix with public affairs.

2. This being the day the lords meet, and the new peers to be introduced, I went to Westminster to see the sight; but the crowd was too great in the House. So I only went into the robing room, to give my four brothers joy, and Sir Thomas Mansel, and Lord Windsor; the other six I am not acquainted with. It was apprehended the Whigs would have raised some difficulties, but nothing happened. I went to see Lady Masham at noon, and wish her joy of her new honour, and a happy new year. I found her very well pleased: for peerage will be some sort of protection to her upon any turn of affairs. She engaged me to come at night, and sup with her and lord-treasurer; I went at nine, and she was not at home, so I would not stay.—No, no, I won't answer your letter yet, young women. I dined with a friend in the neighbourhood. I see nothing here like Christmas, except brawn or mincepies in places where I dine, and giving away my half crowns like farthings to great men's por-

* This common cant was generally applied to the Duke by the Tory writers. One used this expression, "Once he was fortunate;" which being quoted to Prince Eugene, he said it was the highest possible compliment to Marlborough's conduct, since, being only once indebted to fortune, he had always been successful without her aid. But Swift, even while willing to adopt such mean prejudices, argues the expediency of the question like a politician.

ters and butlers. Yesterday I paid seven good guineas to the fellow at the tavern, where I treated the society. I have a great mind to send you the bill. I think I told you some articles. I have not heard whether any thing was done in the House of Lords after introducing the new ones. Ford has been sitting with me till pceast tweeleve a clock.

3. This was our society day, Lord Dupplin was president; we choose every week; the last president treats and chooses his successor. I believe our dinner cost fifteen pounds beside wine. The secretary grew brisk, and would not let me go, nor Lord Lansdown, who would fain have gone home to his lady, being newly married to Lady Mary Thynne. It was near one when we parted; so you must think I can't write much to-night. The adjourning of the House of Lords yesterday, as the queen desired, was just carried by the twelve new lords, and one more. Lord Radnor was not there; I hope I have cured him. Did I tell you, that I have brought Dr King in to be Gazetteer? it will be worth above two hundred pounds a year to him: I believe I told you so before, but I am forgetful. Go, get you gone to ombre, and claret, and toasted oranges. I'll go sleep.

4. I cannot get rid of the leavings of my cold. I was in the city to-day, and dined with my printer, and gave him a ballad made by several hands, I know not whom. I believe lord-treasurer had a finger in it; I added three stanzas; I suppose Dr Arbuthnot had the greatest share. I have been overseeing some other little prints, and a pamphlet made by one of my under-strappers. Somerset is not out yet. I doubt not but you will have the Prophecy in Ireland, although it is not published here, only printed copies given to friends. Tell me, do you understand it? No, faith, not without help.

Tell me what you stick at, and I'll explain. We turned out a member of our society yesterday for gross neglect and non-attendance. I writ to him by order to give him notice of it. It is Tom Harley, secretary to the treasurer, and cousin-german to lord-treasurer. He is going to Hanover from the queen. I am to give the Duke of Ormond notice of his election as soon as I can see him.

5. I went this morning with a parishioner of mine, one Nuttal, who came over here for a legacy of one hundred pounds, and a roguish lawyer had refused to pay him, and would not believe he was the man. I writ to the lawyer a sharp letter, that I had taken Nuttal into my protection, and was resolved to stand by him; and the next news was, that the lawyer desired I would meet him, and attest he was the man, which I did, and his money was paid upon the spot. I then visited lord-treasurer, who is now right again, and all well, only that the Somerset family is not out yet. I hate that; I don't like it, as the man said, by &c. Then I went and visited poor Will. Congreve, who had a French fellow tampering with one of his eyes; he is almost blind of both. I dined with some merchants in the city, but could not see Stratford, with whom I had business. Presto, leave off your impertinence, and answer our letter, saith MD. Yes, yes, one of these days, when I have nothing else to do. O, faith, this letter is a week written, and not one side done yet.—These ugly spots are not tobacco, but this is the last gilt sheet I have of large paper, therefore hold your tongue. Nuttal was surprised, when they gave him bits of paper instead of money; but I made Ben Tooke put him in his geers: he could not reckon ten pounds, but was puzzled with the Irish way. Ben Tooke and my printer have desired me to make them stationers to the ordnance, of

which Lord Rivers is master instead of the Duke of Marlborough.* It will be a hundred pounds a year a piece to them, if I can get it. I will try to-morrow.

6. I went this morning to Earl Rivers, gave him joy of his new employment, and desired him to prefer my printer and bookseller to be stationers to his office. He immediately granted it me; but, like an old courtier, told me it was wholly on my account, but that he heard I had intended to engage Mr Secretary to speak to him, and desired I would engage him to do so; but that, however, he did it only for my sake. This is a court trick, to oblige as many as you can at once. I read prayers to poor Mrs Wesley, who is very much out of order, instead of going to church; and then I went to court, which I found very full, in expectation of seeing Prince Eugene,† who landed last night, and lies at Leicester house; he was not to see the queen till six this evening. I hope and believe he comes too late to do the Whigs any good. I refused dining with the secretary, and was like to lose my dinner, which was at a private acquaintance's. I went at six to see the prince at court; but he was gone in to the queen: and when he came out, Mr Secretary, who introduced him, walked so near him, that he quite screened me from him with his great periwig. I'll tell you a good passage: as Prince Eugene was going with Mr Secretary to court, he told the secretary, that Hoffman, the emperor's re-

* Amid the spoils of the Duke of Marlborough, Earl Rivers succeeded him in the office of master general of the ordnance, and as colonel of the royal regiment of Horse Guards.

† He was sent by the Emperor, if possible to prevent a peace between Britain and France, and was received with great distinction by all parties.

sident, said to his highness, that it was not proper to go to court without a long wig, and his was a tied up one; now, says the prince, I knew not what to do: for I never had a long periwig in my life; and I have sent to all my valets and footmen to see whether any of them have one, that I might borrow it; but none of them has any.—Was not this spoken very greatly with some sort of contempt? But the secretary said; it was a thing of no consequence, and only observed by gentlemen ushers.* I supped with Lord Masham, where lord-treasurer and Mr Secretary supped with us; the first left us at twelve, but the rest did not part till two: yet I have written all this, because it is fresh: and now I'll go sleep, if I can; that is, I believe I shall, because I have drank a little.

7. I was this morning to give the Duke of Ormond notice of the honour done him to make him one of our society, and to invite him on Thursday next to the Thatched House: he has accepted it with the gratitude and humility such a preferment deserves; but cannot come till the next meeting, because Prince Eugene is to dine with him that day; which I allowed for a good excuse, and will report accordingly. I dined with Lord Masham, and sat there till eight this evening; and came home, because I was not very well, but a little griped: but now I am well again, I will not go, at least but very seldom, to Lord Masham's suppers. Lord-treasurer is generally there, and that tempts me; but late sitting up does not agree with me: there's

* Swift, who again mentions this little anecdote in his *Treatise on good Breeding*, says, that the important piece of etiquette insinuated by Hoffman, was the best lesson which that dull old German had learned in five-and-twenty years residence.

the short and the long, and I won't do it : so take your answer, dear little young women ; and I have no more to say to you to-night, because of the archbishop ; for I am going to write a long letter to him ; but not so politicly as formerly : I won't trust him.

8. Well then, come, let us see this letter ; if I must answer it, I must. What's here now ? yes faith, I lamented my birth-day* two days after, and that's all : and you rhyme, madam Stella ; were those verses made upon my birth-day ? faith, when I read them, I had them running in my head all the day, and said them over a thousand times ; they drank your health in all their glasses, and wished, &c. I could not get them out of my head. What ; no, I believe it was not ; what do I say upon the eighth of December ? Compare, and see whether I say so. I am glad of Mrs Stoyte's recovery, heartily glad : your Dolly Manley's and bishop of Cloyne's child I have no concern about : I am sorry in a civil way, that's all. Yes, yes, Sir George St George dead.—Go, cry, madam Dingley ; I have written to the dean. Raymond will be rich, for he has the building itch. I wish all he has got may put him out of debt. Poh, I have fires like lightning ; they cost me twelvepence a week, beside small coal. I have got four new caps, madam, very fine and convenient, with striped cambric, instead of muslin ; so Patrick need not mend them, but take the old ones. Stella snatched Dingley's word out of her pen ; Presto a cold ; why all the world here is dead with them : I never had any thing like it in my life ; 'tis not gone in five weeks. I hope Leigh is with you

* Dr Swift, upon his birth-day, used always to read the third chapter of Job.

before this, and has brought your box : how do you like the ivory rasp ? Stella is angry ; but I'll have a finer thing for her. Is not the apron as good ? I am sure I shall never be paid it ; so all's well again. —What the quarrel with Sir John Walters ? why we had not one word of quarrel ; only he railed at me when I was gone. And lord keeper and treasurer teased me for a week : it was nuts to them ; a serious thing with a vengeance.—The Whigs may sell their estates then, * or hang themselves, as they are disposed ; for a peace there will be. Lord-treasurer told me, that Conolly was going to Hanover. Your provost is a coxcomb. Stella is a good girl for not being angry when I tell her of spelling ; I see none wrong in this. God Almighty be praised that your disorders lessen, it increases my hopes mightily that they will go off. And have you been plagued with the fear of the plague ? never mind those reports ; I have heard them five hundred times. Replevi ? Replevin, simpleton, 'tis Dingley I mean ; but it is a hard word, and so I'll excuse it. I stated Dingley's accounts in my last. I forgot Catherine's sevenpenny dinner. I hope it was the beef steaks ; I'll call and eat them in spring ; but goody Stoyte must give me coffee, or green tea, for I drink no bohea. Well, ay, the pamphlet ; but there are some additions to the fourth edition ; the fifth edition was of four thousand, in a smaller print, sold for sixpence. Yes, I had the twenty pound bill from Parvisol : and what then ? Pray now eat the Laracor apples ; I beg you not to keep them, but tell me what they are. You have had Tooke's bill in my last. And so there now, your whole letter is an-

* Such it would seem had been their threat, as communicated by Stella.

swered. I tell you what I do ; I lay your letter before me, and take it in order, and answer what is necessary ; and so and so. Well ; when I expected we were all undone, I designed to retire for six months, and then steal over to Laracor ; and I had in my mouth a thousand times two lines of Shakespeare, where cardinal Wolsey says ;

“ A weak old man battered with storms of state,

“ Is come to lay his weary bones among you.”

I beg your pardon, I have cheated you all this margin : I did not perceive it ; and I went on wider and wider like Stella ; awkward sluts, *she writes so so, there* : * that's as like as two eggs a penny.—*A weak old man*, now I am saying it, and shall till tomorrow.—The Duke of Marlborough says, there is nothing he now desires so much as to contrive some way how to soften Dr Swift. He is mistaken ; for those things that have been hardest against him were not written by me. Mr Secretary told me this from a friend of the duke's ; and I'm sure now he is down, I shall not trample on him ; although I I love him not, I dislike his being out.—Bernage was to see me this morning, and gave some very indifferent excuses for not calling here so long. I care not twopence. Prince Eugene did not dine with the Duke of Marlborough on Sunday, but was last night at Lady Betty Germain's assemblée, and a vast number of ladies to see him. Mr Lewis and I dined with a private friend. I was this morning to see the Duke of Ormond, who appointed me to meet him at the cockpit at one, but never came. I sat too some time with the Duchess. We don't like things very well yet. I am come home early, and going to be busy. I'll go write.

* These words in the manuscript imitate Stella's writing, and are sloped the wrong way.

9. I could not go sleep last night till past two, and was waked before three by a noise of people endeavouring to break open my window; for a while I would not stir, thinking it might be my imagination; but hearing the noise continued, I rose and went to the window, and then it ceased: I went to bed again, and heard it repeated more violently; then I rose and called up the house, and got a candle: the rogues had lifted up the sash a yard; there are great sheds before my windows, although my lodgings be a story high; and if they get upon the sheds they are almost even with my window. We observed their track, and panes of glass fresh broken. The watchmen told us to day, they saw them, but could not catch them: they attacked others in the neighbourhood, about the same time, and actually robbed a house in Suffolk-street, which is the next street but one to us. It is said they are seamen discharged from service. I went up to call my man, and found his bed empty; it seems he often lies abroad. I challenged him this morning as one of the robbers. He is a sad dog; and the minute I come to Ireland I will discard him. I have this day got double iron bars to every window in my dining-room and bed-chamber; and I hide my purse in my thread stocking between the bed's head and the wainscot. Lewis and I dined with an old Scotch friend, who brought the Duke of Douglas, and three or four more Scots upon us.

10. This was our society day you know: but the Duke of Ormond could not be with us, because he dined with Prince Eugene. It cost me a guinea contribution to a poet, who had made a copy of verses upon monkeys, applying the story to the Duke of Marlborough; the rest gave two guineas, except the two physicians, who followed my example. I don't like this custom: the next time I

will give nothing. I sat this evening at Lord Masham's with lord-treasurer: I don't like his countenance; nor I don't like the posture of things well.

We cannot be stout,
Till Somerset's out:

as the old saying is.

11. Mr Lewis and I dined with the chancellor of the exchequer, who eats the most elegantly of any man I know in town: I walked lustily in the Park by moonshine till eight, to shake off my dinner and wine; and then went to sup at Mr Donville's with Ford, and staid till twelve. It is told me to-day as a great secret, that the Duke of Somerset will be out soon; that the thing is fixed: but what shall we do with the duchess? they say the duke will make her leave the queen out of spite, if he be out. It has stuck upon that fear a good while already.* Well but Lewis gave me a letter from MD, N. 25. O Lord, I did not expect one this fortnight, faith. You are mighty good, that's certain: but I won't answer it, because this goes to-morrow, only what you say of the printer being taken up; I value it not; all's safe there; nor do I fear any thing, unless the ministry be changed; I hope that danger is over. However, I shall be in Ireland before such a change; which could not be, I think, till the end of the session, if the Whigs' designs had gone on.—Have not you an apron by Leigh, madam Stella? have you all I mentioned in a former letter?

12. Morning. This goes to day as usual. I think of going into the city; but of that at night. 'Tis fine moderate weather these two or three days last. Farewell, &c. &c.

* See note on Journal 17 December.

LETTER XXXIX.

London Jan. 12, 1711-12.

WHEN I sealed up my letter this morning, I looked upon myself to be not worth a groat in the world. Last night after Mr Ford and I left Domville, Ford desired me to go with him for a minute upon earnest business, and then told me that both he and I were ruined : for he had trusted Stratford with five hundred pounds for tickets for the lottery, and he had been with Stratford, who confessed he had lost fifteen thousand pounds by Sir Stephen Evans, who broke last week ; that he concluded Stratford must break too ; that he could not get his tickets, but Stratford made him several excuses, which seemed very blind ones, &c. And Stratford had near four hundred pounds of mine, to buy me five hundred pounds in the South Sea company. I came home reflecting a little ; nothing concerned me but MD. I called all my philosophy and religion up ; and, I thank God, it did not keep me awake beyond my usual time above a quarter of an hour. This morning I sent for Tooke, whom I had employed to buy the stock of Stratford, and settle things with him. He told me, I was secure ; for Stratford had transferred it to me in form in the South Sea house, and he had accepted it for me, and all was done on stamped parchment. However, he would be farther informed ; and at night, sent me a note to con-

firm me. However, I am not yet secure ; and, besides, am in pain for Ford, whom I first brought acquainted with Stratford. I dined in the city.

13. Domville and I dined with Ford to-day by appointment : the Lord Mansel told me at court to-day, that I was engaged to him : but Stratford had promised Ford to meet him and me to-night at Ford's lodgings. He did so ; said he had hopes to save himself in his affair with Evans. Ford asked him for his tickets : he said he would send them to-morrow ; but looking in his pocket-book, said he believed he had some of them about him, and gave him as many as came to two hundred pounds, which rejoiced us much ; besides, he talked so frankly, that we might think there is no danger. I asked him, Was there any more to be settled between us in my affair ? He said, No ; and answering my questions just as Tooke had got them from others ; so I hope I am safe. This has been a scurvy affair. I believe Stella would have half laughed at me, to see a suspicious fellow like me, overreached. I saw Prince Eugene to-day at court : I don't think him an ugly faced fellow, but well enough, and a good shape.

14. The parliament was to sit to-day ; and met ; but were adjourned by the queen's directions till Thursday. She designs to make some important speech then. She pretended illness ; but I believe they were not ready, and they expect some opposition : and the Scotch lords are angry, and must be pacified. * I was this morning to invite the Duke of Ormond to our society on Thursday, where he is

* Their displeasure was occasioned by the refusal of the House of Lords, to permit the Duke of Hamilton to sit as Duke of Brandon, on his receiving that British title.

then to be introduced. He has appointed me at twelve to-morrow about some business : I would fain have his help to impeach a certain lord : but I doubt we shall make nothing of it. I intended to have dined with lord-treasurer, but I was told he would be busy : so I dined with Mrs Van ; and at night I sat with Lord Masham till one. Lord-treasurer was there, and chid me for not dining with him : he was in very good humour : I brought home two flasks of burgundy in my chair : I wish MD had them. You see it is very late ; so I'll go to bed, and bid MD good night.

15. This morning I presented my printer and bookseller to Lord Rivers ; to be stationers to the ordnance stationers, that's the word ; I did not write it plain at first. I believe it will be worth three hundred pounds a-year between them. This is the third employment I have got for them. Rivers told them, the doctor commanded him, and he durst not refuse it. I would have dined with lord-treasurer to day again, but Lord Mansel would not let me, and forced me home with him. I was very deep with the Duke of Ormond to-day at the cock-pit, where we met to be private ; but I doubt I cannot do the mischief I intended. My friend Penn came there, Will Penn the Quaker, at the head of his brethren, to thank the duke for his kindness to their people in Ireland. To see a dozen scoundrels with their hats on, and the duke complimenting with his off, was a good sight enough. I sat this evening with Sir William Robinson, who has mighty often invited me to a bottle of wine : and it is past twelve.

16. This being fast-day, Dr Freind and I went into the city to dine late, like good fasters. My printer and bookseller want me to hook in another employment for them in the Tower, because it was

enjoyed before by a stationer, although it be to serve the ordnance with oil, tallow, &c. and is worth four hundred pounds *per annum* more : I will try what I can do. They are resolved to ask several other employments of the same nature to other offices ; and I will then grease fat sows, and see whether it be possible to satisfy them. Why am not I a stationer ? The parliament sits to-morrow, and Walpole, late secretary at war, is to be swung for bribery, and the queen is to communicate something of great importance to the two houses, at least they say so. But I must think of answering your letter in a day or two.

17. I went this morning to the Duke of Ormond about some business ; and he told me he could not dine with us to-day, being to dine with Prince Eugene. Those of our society of the House of Commons could not be with us, the house sitting late on Walpole. I left them at nine, and they were not come. We kept some dinner for them. I hope Walpole will be sent to the Tower, and expelled the house : but, this afternoon the members I spoke with in the court of requests talked dubiously of it. It will be a leading card to maul the Duke of Marlborough for the same crime, or at least to censure him. The queen's message was only to give them notice of the peace she is treating, and to desire they will make some law to prevent libels against the government ; so farewell to Grub-street.

18. I heard to-day that the commoners of our society did not leave the parliament till eleven at night, then went to those I left, and staid till three in the morning. Walpole is expelled, and sent to the Tower. I was this morning again with Lord Rivers, and have made him give the other employment to my printer and bookseller ; 'tis worth a great deal. I dined with my friend Lewis privately, to talk over

affairs. We want to have this Duke of Somerset out, and he apprehends it will not be; but I hope better. They are going now at last to change the commissioners of the customs: my friend Sir Matthew Dudley will be out, and three more, and Prior will be in. I have made Ford copy out a small pamphlet, and send it to the press, that I might not be known for author; 'tis *A Letter to the October Club*, if ever you heard of such a thing.—Methinks this letter goes on but slowly for almost a week; I want some little conversation with MD, and to know what they are doing just now. I am sick of politics. I have not dined with lord-treasurer these three weeks: he chides me, but I don't care: I don't.

19. I dined to-day with lord-treasurer; this is his day of choice company; where they sometimes admit me, but pretend to grumble. And to-day they met on some extraordinary business; the keeper, steward, both secretaries, Lord Rivers, and Lord Anglesey: I left them at seven, and came away, and have been writing to the Bishop of Clogher. I forgot to know where to direct to him since Sir George St George's death; but I have directed to the same house: you must tell me better; for the letter is sent by the bellman. Don't write to me again till this is gone, I charge you; for I won't answer two letters together. The Duke of Somerset is out, and was with his yellow liveries at parliament to-day. You know he had the same with the queen, when he was master of the horse: we hope the Duchess will follow, or that he will take her away in spite. Lord-treasurer, I hope, has now saved his head. Has the dean received my letter? ask him at cards to-night.

20. There was a world of people to-day at court to see Prince Eugene, but all bit, for he did not

come. I saw the Duchess of Somerset talking with the Duke of Buckingham; she looked a little down, but was extremely courteous. The queen has the gout, but is not in much pain. Must I fill this line too? * well then, so let it be. The Duke of Beaufort has a mighty mind to come into our society; shall we let him? I spoke to the Duke of Ormond about it, and he doubts a little whether to let him in or no. They say the Duke of Somerset is advised by his friends to let his wife stay with the queen; I am sorry for it. I dined with the secretary to-day, with mixed company; I don't love it. Our society does not meet till Friday, because Thursday will be a busy day in the House of Commons; for then the Duke of Marlborough's bribery is to be examined into about the pension paid him by those that furnished bread to the army.

21. I have been five times with the Duke of Ormond about a perfect trifle, and he forgets it: I used him like a dog this morning for it. I was asked to-day by several in the court of requests, whether it was true that the author of the Examiner was taken up in an action of twenty thousand pounds by the Duke of Marlborough? I dined in the city, where my printer shewed me a pamphlet called Advice to the October Club, which he said was sent him by an unknown hand; I commended it mightily; he never suspected me; 'tis a two-penny pamphlet. I came home and got timely to bed; but about eleven one of the secretary's servants came to me, to let me know that lord-treasurer would immediately speak to me at Lord Masham's upon earnest business; and that if I was a

* It is the last of the page, and written close to the edge of the paper.

bed, I should rise and come. I did so; lord-treasurer was above with the queen: and when he came down he laughed, and said it was not he that sent for me: the business was of no great importance, only to give me a paper, which might have been done to-morrow. I staid with them till past one, and then got to bed again. Pize take their frolics. I thought to have answered your letter.

22. Doctor Gastrel was to see me this morning; he is an eminent divine, one of the canons of Christ-church; and one I love very well: he said, he was glad to find I was not with James Broad. I asked what he meant; why, says he, have you not seen the Grub-street paper, that says Dr Swift was taken up as author of the Examiner on an action of twenty thousand pounds, and was now at James Broad's? who, I suppose, is some bailiff.* I knew nothing of this; but at the court of requests twenty people told me they heard I had been taken up. Lord Lansdown observed to the secretary and me, that the Whigs spread three lies yesterday;† that about me; and another, that Macartney, who was turned out last summer, is again restored to his places in the army; and the third, that Jack Hill's commission for lieutenant of the Tower is stopped, and that Cadogan is to continue. Lansdown thinks they have some design by these reports; I cannot guess it. Did I tell you that Sacheverel has desired mightily to come and see me; but I have put it off: he has heard that I have spoken to the secretary in behalf of a brother whom he maintains, and

* James Broad, a sheriff-officer, appears as an evidence on the noted trial of Purchas and Damaree. He was a bailiff of some celebrity, for he is mentioned in the Tatler.

† These lies are all particularly mentioned by the Examiner, N. 10. dated Feb. 7. 1711-12.

who desires an employment. Toother day at the court of requests Dr Yalden saluted me by name : Sacheverel, who was just by, came up to me, and made me many acknowledgments and compliments. Last night I desired lord-treasurer to do something for that brother of Sacheverel's : he said he never knew he had a brother ; but thanked me for telling him, and immediately put his name in his table book. I will let Sacheverel know this, that he may take his measures accordingly ; but he shall be none of my acquaintance.* I dined to-day privately with the secretary, left him at six, paid a visit or two, and came home.

27. I dined again to-day with the secretary ; but could not dispatch some business I had with him, he has so much besides upon his hands at this juncture : and preparing against the great business to-morrow, which we are top full of. The minister's design is, that the Duke of Marlborough shall be censured as gently as possible, provided his friends will not make head to defend him ; but if they do, it may end in some severer votes. A gentleman, who was just now with him, tells me he is much cast down, and fallen away ; but he is positive, if he has but ten friends in the House, that they shall defend him to the utmost, and endeavour to prevent the least censure upon him ; which I think cannot be, since the bribery is manifest : Sir Solomon Medina paid him six thousand pounds a-year to have the employment of providing bread for the army, and the Duke owns it in his letter to the com-

* Swift's resolutions in favour of Dr Sacheverel's brother probably arose from a sense of the obligations which the present ministry lay under to this fiery high churchman. His personal dislike was grounded in his thorough contempt of the Doctor's talents and doctrine.

missioners of accounts. I was to-night at Lord Masham's; Lord Dupplin took out my new little pamphlet, and the secretary read a great deal of it to lord-treasurer; they all commended it to the skies. and so did I, and they began a health to the author. But I doubt lord treasurer suspected; for he said, This is Dr Davenants* style; which is his cant when he suspects me. But I carried the matter very well. Lord-treasurer put the pamphlet in his pocket to read at home. I'll answer your letter to-morrow.

24. The secretary made me promise to dine with him to-day, after the parliament was up; I said I would come; but I dined at my usual time; knowing the House would sit late on this great affair. I dined at a tavern with Mr Domville and another gentleman; I have not done so before these many months. At ten this evening I went to the secretary, but he was not come home; I sat with his lady till twelve, then came away; and he just came as I was gone, and he sent to my lodgings, but I would not go back; and so I know not how things have passed, but hope all is well; and I will tell you to-morrow day. It is late, &c.

25. The secretary sent to me this morning to know whether we should dine together; I went to him, and there I learned that the question went against the Duke of Marlborough, by a majority of a hundred; so the ministry is mighty well satisfied, and the Duke will now be able to do no hurt. The secretary and I, and Lord Masham, &c. dined with Lieutenant-General Withers, who is just going

* Davenant was abused as the author of the Examiner, long after Swift had commenced author of that paper. On this mistake the treasurer's jeer was grounded.

to look after the army in Flanders: the secretary home left them a little after seven, and I am come and I will now answer your letter, because this goes to-morrow: let me see.—The box at Chester; O, burn that box, and hang that Sterne; I have desired one to inquire for it who went toward Ireland last Monday, but I am in utter despair of it. No, I was not splenetic; you see what plunges the court has been at to set all right again. And that Duchess is not out yet, and may one day cause more mischief. Somerset shews all about a letter from the queen, desiring him to let his wife continue with her. Is not that rare! I find Dingley smelled a rat; because the Whigs are *upish*; but if ever I hear that word again, I'll *up-pish* you. I am glad you got your rasp safe and sound; does Stella like her apron? Your critics about guarantees of succession are puppies; that's an answer to the objection. The answerers here made the same objection, but it is wholly wrong. I am of your opinion, that Lord Marlborough is used too hardly: I have often scratched out passages from papers and pamphlets sent me, before they were printed; because I thought them too severe. But he is certainly a vile man, and has no sort of merit beside the military. The Examiners are good for little: I would fain have hindered the severity of the two or three last, but could not. I will either bring your papers over, or leave them with Tooke, for whose honesty I will engage. And I think it is best not to venture them with me at sea. Stella is a prophet, by foretelling so very positively that all would be well. Duke of Ormond speak against peace? No, simpleton: he is one of the stanchest we have for the ministry. Neither trouble yourself about the printer: he appeared the first day of term, and is to appear when summoned

again; but nothing else will come of it. Lord Chief Justice is cooled since this new settlement. No; I will not split my journals in half; I will write but once a-fortnight: but you may do as you will; which is, read only half at once, and t'other half next week. So now your letter is answered. (Pox on these blots!) What must I say more? I will set out in March, if there be a fit of fine weather; unless the ministry desire me to stay till the end of the session, which may be a month longer; but I believe they will not: for I suppose the peace will be made, and they will have no farther service for me. I must make my canal fine this summer, as fine as I can. I am afraid I shall see great neglects among my quicksets. I hope the cherry trees on the river walk are fine things now. But no more of this.

26. I forgot to finish this letter this morning, and am come home so late I must give it to the bellman; but I would have it go to-night, lest you should think there is any thing in the story of my being arrested in an action of twenty thousand pounds by Lord Marlborough, which I hear is in Dyer's letter, and consequently, I suppose, gone to Ireland. Farewell, dearest MD, &c. &c.

LETTER XL.

London, Jan. 26, 1711-12.

I HAVE no gilt paper left of this size, so you must be content with plain. Our society dined together to-day, for it was put off, as I told you, upon Lord

Marlborough's business on Thursday. The Duke of Ormond dined with us to-day, the first time; we were thirteen at table; and Lord Lansdown came in after dinner, so that we wanted but three. The secretary proposed the Duke of Beaufort, * who desires to be one of our society; but I stopped it, because the Duke of Ormond doubts a little about it; and he was gone before it was proposed. I left them at seven, and sat this evening with poor Mrs Wesley, who has been mightily ill to-day with a fainting fit: she has often convulsions too; she takes a mixture with *assafoetida*, which I have now in my nose; and every thing smells of it. I never smelt it before; 'tis abominable. We have eight packets, they say, due from Ireland.

27. I could not see Prince Eugene at court to-day, the crowd was so great. The Whigs contrive to have a crowd always about him, and employ the rabble to give the word, when he sets out from any place. When the Duchess of Hamilton† came from the queen after church, she whispered me that she was going to pay me a visit: I went to Lady Oglethorp's, the place appointed; for ladies always visit me in third places, and she kept me till near four: she talks too much, is a plaguy detractor, and I believe I shall not much like her. I was engaged to dine with Lord Masham; they staid as long as they could, yet had almost dined, and were going in anger to pull down the brass peg for my hat,

* Henry, second Duke of Beaufort. He was so zealous a Tory, that he never appeared at court during Godolphin's ministry: and when he attended there upon the changes, he told her Majesty he could now call her Queen in reality. The Duke died in 1714, aged only thirty years.

† Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Digby, Lord Gerrard of Bromley, by Elizabeth, daughter to Charles Earl of Macclesfield.

but Lady Masham saved it. At eight I went again to Lord Masham's; lord-treasurer is generally there at night: we sat up till almost two. Lord-treasurer has engaged me to contrive some way to keep the archbishop of York from being seduced by Lord Nottingham. I will do what I can in it to-morrow. 'Tis very late, so I must go sleep.

28. Poor Mrs Manley, the author, is very ill of a dropsy and sore leg; the printer tells me he is afraid she cannot live long. I am heartily sorry for her; she has very generous principles for one of her sort; and a great deal of good sense and invention: she is about forty, very homely, and very fat.* Mrs Van made me dine with her to-day. I

* In a romance entitled *The History of Rivella*, or some such name, (probably written by the lady herself,) she is thus described:

"Her person is neither tall nor short; from her youth she was inclined to fat; whence I have often heard her flatterers liken her to the Grecian Venus. It is certain, considering that disadvantage, she has the most easy air that one can have; her hair is of a pale ash colour, fine, and in a large quantity. I have heard her friends lament the disaster of her having had the small-pox in such an injurious manner, being a beautiful child before that distemper; but as that disease has now left her face, she has scarce any pretence to it. Few, who have only beheld her in public, could be brought to like her; whereas none that became acquainted with her, could refrain from loving her. I have heard several wives and mistresses accuse her of fascination: they would neither trust their husbands, lovers, sons, nor brothers, with her acquaintance, upon terms of the greatest advantage. But, to do Rivella justice, till she grew fat, there was not I believe any defect to be found in her body: her lips admirably coloured; her teeth small and even; a breath always sweet; her complexion fair and fresh; yet, with all this, you must be used to her before she can be thought thoroughly agreeable. Her hands and arms have been publicly celebrated; it is certain, that I never saw any so well turned: her neck and breasts have an established reputation for beauty and colour; her feet small and pretty. Thus I have run through

was this morning with the Duke of Ormond, and the prolocutor. about what lord-treasurer spoke to me yesterday; I know not what will be the issue. There is but a slender majority in the House of Lords; and we want more. We are sadly mortified at the news of the French taking the town in Brazil from the Portuguese. The sixth edition of three thousand of the Conduct of the Allies is sold, and the printer talks of a seventh; eleven thousand of them have been sold; which is a prodigious run. The little twopenny Letter of Advice to the October Club does not sell; I know not the reason; for it is finely written, I assure you; and, like a true author, I grow fond of it, because it does not sell: you know that is usual to writers to condemn the judgment of the world: if I had hinted it to be mine, every body would have bought it, but it is a great secret.

29. I borrowed one or two idle books of *Contes des Fées*, and have been reading them these two days, although I have much business upon my hands. I loitered till one at home; then went to Mr Lewis at his office; and the vice-chamberlain told me, that Lady Ryalton had yesterday resigned her employment of lady of the bedchamber, and that Lady Jane Hyde, Lord Rochester's daughter, a mighty pretty girl, is to succeed; he said too, that Lady Sunderland would resign in a day or two. I dined with Lewis, and then went to see Mrs Wesley, who is better to-day. But you must know that Mr Lewis gave me two letters, one from the bishop of Cloyne, with an enclosed from Lord Inchequin to lord-treasurer, which he desires I would deliver and recommend. I am told that

whatever custom suffers to be visible to us; and, upon my word, chevalier, I never saw any of Rivelia's hidden charms."---*Adventures of Rivella*, Lond. 1714, pp. 8---10.

lord was much in with Lord Wharton, and I remember he was to have been one of the lords justices by his recommendation; yet the bishop recommends him as a great friend to the church, &c. I'll do what I think proper. T'other letter was from little saucy MD, N. 26. O Lord, never saw the like, under a cover too, and by way of journal; we shall never have done. Sirrahs; how durst you write so soon, sirrahs? I won't answer it yet.

30. I was this morning with the secretary, who was sick, and out of humour; he would needs drink Champaign some days ago, on purpose to spite me, because I advised him against it, and now he pays for it; Stella used to do such tricks formerly; he put me in mind of her. Lady Sunderland has resigned her place too. It is Lady Catherine Hyde that succeeds Lady Ryalton; and not Lady Jane. Lady Catherine is the late Earl of Rochester's daughter.* I dined with the secretary, then visited his lady; and sat this evening with Lady Masham; the secretary came to us; but lord-treasurer did not; he dined with the master of the rolls, and staid late with him. Our society does not meet till to-morrow se'ennight, because we think the parliament will be very busy to-morrow upon the state of the war; and the secretary, who is to treat as president, must be in the House. I fancy my talking of persons and things here, must be very tedious to you, because you know nothing of them; and I talk as if you did. You know Kevin's Street, and Werburgh Street, and (what do you call the street where Mrs Walls lives?) and Ingoldsby, and Higgins, and Lord Santry; but what care you for Lady Catherine Hyde? why do

* And the aunt of Lady Jane Hyde.

you say nothing of your health, sirrah? I hope it is well.

31. Trimnel, bishop of Norwich, who was with this Lord Sunderland at Moor Park in their travels, preached yesterday before the House of Lords; and to-day the question was put to thank him, and print his sermon; but passed against him; for it was a terrible Whig sermon. The bill to repeal the act for naturalizing Protestant foreigners, passed the House of Lords to-day by a majority of twenty, though the Scotch lords went out, and would vote neither way, in discontent about Duke Hamilton's patent,* if you know any thing of it. A poem is come out to-day inscribed to me, by way of a flirt; for it is a Whiggish poem, and good for nothing. They plagued me with it in the court of requests. I dined with lord-treasurer at five alone, only with one Dutchman. Prior is now a commissioner of the customs. I told you so before, I suppose. When I came home to-night, I found a letter from Dr Sacheverel, thanking me for recommending his brother to lord-treasurer and

* The patent which conferred on him the Dukedom of Brandon, but which, as the House of Lords had found by a vote, did not entitle him to sit as a British peer. The Scottish nobles were very reasonably discontented at finding that they were to be held incapable of receiving a grace which the crown could confer on the lowest commoner. Nor was the reasons insisted upon for their incapacity of becoming British peers very flattering; for it was more than insinuated, that the independence of the House would be in danger if the King could confer the privilege of the British peerage at pleasure upon a set of nobles whose rank rendered the boon plausible, while their fortunes placed them in dependence on the crown. Accordingly, so incensed were the Scottish peers, that they refused for a time to sit and vote in the House of Lords. Justice was not done to them in this particular until 1782, when the late Duke of Hamilton was found entitled to his writ of summons as Duke of Brandon.

Mr Secretary for a place. Lord-treasurer sent to him about it: so good a solicitor was I although I once hardly thought I should be a solicitor for Sacheverel.

Feb. 1 Has not your dean of St Patrick received my letter? you say nothing of it. although I writ above a month ago. My printer has got the gout, and I was forced to go to him to-day, and there I dined. It was a most delicious day; why don't you observe whether the same days be fine with you? to-night at six Dr Atterbury, and Prior, and I, and Dr Freind, met at Dr Robert Freind's house at Westminster, who is master of the school: there we sat till one, and were good enough company. I here take leave to tell politic Dingley, that the passage in the Conduct of the Allies is so far from being blameable, that the secretary designs to insist upon it in the House of Commons, when the Treaty of Barrier is debated there, as it now shortly will, for they have ordered it to be laid before them. The pamphlet of Advice to the October Club begins now to sell: but I believe its fame will hardly reach Ireland: 'tis finely written I assure you. I long to answer your letter; but won't yet; you know 'tis late, &c.

2. This ends Christmas, and what care I? I have neither seen, nor felt, nor heard any Christmas this year. I passed a lazy dull day: I was this morning with lord-treasurer, to get some papers from him, which he will remember as much as a cat, although it be his own business. It threatened rain, but did not much; and Prior and I walked an hour in the Park, which quite put me out of my measures. I dined with a friend hard by; and in the evening sat with Lord Masham till twelve. Lord-treasurer did not come; this is an idle dining day usually with him. We want to hear from Holland

how our peace goes on ; for we are afraid of those scoundrels the Dutch, lest they should play us tricks. Lord Marr, * a Scotch earl, was with us at Lord Masham's ; I was arguing with him about the stubbornness and folly of his countrymen : they are so angry about the affair of Duke Hamilton, whom the queen has made a Duke of England, and the House of Lords will not admit him : he swears he would vote for us, but dare not ; because all Scotland would detest him if he did ; he should never be chosen again, nor be able to live there. †

3. I was at court to-day to look for a dinner ; but did not like any that were offered me ; and I dined with Lord Mountjoy. The queen has the gout in her knee, and was not at chapel. I hear we have a Dutch mail, but I know not what news, although I was with the secretary this morning. He shewed me a letter from the Hanover envoy, Mr Bothmar, complaining that the Barrier Treaty is laid before the House of Commons ; and desiring that no infringement may be made in the guarantee of the succession ; but the secretary has written him a peppering answer. I fancy you understand all this,

* John, eleventh and last Earl of Marr, then a privy counselor, and in 1712 secretary of state for Scotland, afterwards unfortunately famous for heading the rebellion in 1715, for which being attainted, he fled abroad, and died in 1735.

† "The Scotch lords seeing no redress to their complaint, seemed resolved to come no more to sit in the House of Peers ; but the Court was sensible that their strength in that House consisted chiefly in them and in the new peers ; so pains were taken, and secret forcible arguments were used to them, which proved so effectual, that after a few days absence they came back, and continued, during the session, to sit in the House. They gave it out, that an expedient would be found that would be to the satisfaction of the peers of Scotland : but nothing of that appearing, it was concluded that the satisfaction was private and personal."---
BURNET'S *History of his Own Times*, ad annum 1711-12.

and are able states girls, since you have read the Conduct of the Allies. We are all preparing against the birth-day; I think it is Wednesday next. If the queen's gout increases, it will spoil sport. Prince Eugene has two fine suits made against it; and the queen is to give him a sword worth four thousand pounds, the diamonds set transparent.

4. I was this morning soliciting at the House of Commons' door for Mr Vesey, a son of the archbishop of Tuam, who has petitioned for a bill to relieve him in some difficulty about his estate; I secured him above fifty members. I dined with Lady Masham. We have no packet from Holland, as I was told yesterday; and this wind will hinder many people from appearing at the birth-day, who expected clothes from Holland. I appointed to meet a gentleman at the secretary's to-night, and they both failed. The House of Commons have this day made many severe votes about our being abused by our allies. Those who spoke, drew all their arguments from my book, and their votes confirm all I writ; the court had a majority of a hundred and fifty: all agree, that it was my book that spirited them to these resolutions; I long to see them in print. My head has not been as well as I could wish it for some days past, but I have not had any giddy fit, and I hope it will go over.

5. The secretary turned me out of his room this morning, and shewed me fifty guineas rolled up, which he was going to give some French spy. I dined with four Irishmen at a tavern to-day; I thought I had resolved against it before, but I broke it. I played at cards this evening at Lady Masham's, but I only played for her while she was waiting; and I won her a pool; and supped there. Lord-treasurer was with us, but went away before

twelve. The ladies and lords have all their clothes ready against to-morrow: I saw several mighty fine, and I hope there will be a great appearance, in spite of that spiteful French fashion of the Whig-gish ladies not to come, which they have all resolved to a woman; and I hope it will more spirit the queen against them for ever.

6. I went to dine at Lord Masham's at three, and met all the company just coming out of court; a mighty crowd: they staid long for their coaches: I had an opportunity of seeing several lords and ladies of my acquaintance in their fineries. Lady Ashburnham looked the best in my eyes. They say the court was never fuller nor finer. Lord-treasurer, his lady, and two daughters, and Mrs Hill, dined with Lord and Lady Masham; the five ladies were monstrous fine. The queen gave Prince Eugene the diamond sword to-day; but nobody was by when she gave it, except my lord chamberlain. There was an entertainment of opera songs at night, and the queen was at all the entertainment, and is very well after it. I saw Lady Wharton, as ugly as the devil, coming out in the crowd all in an undress; she had been with the Marlborough daughters and Lady Bridgwater in St James's, looking out of the window all undressed to see the sight. I do not hear that one Whig lady was there, except those of the bed-chamber. Nothing has made so great a noise as one Kelson's chariot, that cost nine hundred and thirty pounds, the finest was ever seen. The rabble huzzaed him as much as they did Prince Eugene. This is birth-day chat.

7. Our society met to-day, the Duke of Ormond was not with us; we have lessened our dinners, which were grown so extravagant, that lord-treasurer and every body else cried shame. I left them at seven, visited for an hour, and then came home,

like a good boy. The queen is much better after yesterday's exercise: her friends wish she would use a little more. I opposed Lord Jersey's * election into our society, and he is refused: I likewise opposed the Duke of Beaufort; but I believe he will be chosen in spite of me: I don't much care; I shall not be with them above two months; for I resolve to set out for Ireland the beginning of April next (before I treat them again) and see my willows.

8. I dined to-day in the city; this morning a scoundrel dog, one of the queen's music, a German, whom I had never seen, got access to me in my chamber by Patrick's folly, and gravely desired me to get an employment in the customs for a friend of his, who would be very grateful; and likewise to forward a project of his own, for raising ten thousand pounds a year upon operas: I used him civil-
ler than he deserved; but it vexed me to the pluck. He was told, I had a mighty interest with lord-treasurer, and one word of mine, &c.—Well; I got home early on purpose to answer MD's letter, N. 26; for this goes to-morrow.—Well; I never saw such a letter in all my life; so saucy, so journalish, so sanguine, so pretending, so every thing. I satisfied all your fears in my last; all is gone well, as you say; yet you are an impudent slut to be so positive; you will swagger so upon your sagacity, that we shall never have done. Pray don't mislay your reply; I would certainly print it, if I had it here: how long is it? I suppose half a sheet: was the answer written in Ireland? yes, yes, you shall

* William Villiers, second Earl of Jersey, to which title he succeeded by the death of his father, in August 1711.

have a letter when you come from Baligall.* I need not tell you again who's out and who's in: we can never get out the Duchess of Somerset.—So, they say Presto writ the Conduct, † &c. Do they like it? I don't care whether they do or no; but the Resolutions printed t'other day in the Votes, are almost quotations from it; and would never have passed, if that book had not been written. I will not meddle with the Spectator, let him fair-sex ‡ it to the world's end. My disorder is over, but blood was not from the p—les.—Well, madam Dingley, the frost; why we had a great frost, but I forget how long ago; it lasted above a week or ten days: I believe about six weeks ago; but it did not break so soon with us I think as December 29; yet I think it was about that time, on second thoughts. MD can have no letter from Presto, says you; and yet four days before you own you had my thirty-seventh, unreasonable sluts! The Bishop of Gloucester is not dead, and I am as likely to succeed the Duke of Marlborough as him if he were; there's enough for that now. It is not unlikely that the Duke of Shrewsbury will be your governor; at least I believe the Duke of Ormond will not return.—Well, Stella again: why really three editions of the Conduct, &c. is very much for Ireland; it is a sign you have some honest among you. Well; I will do Mr Manley all the service I can: but he will ruin himself. What business had he to engage at all about the city? can't he wish his cause well, and be quiet, when he finds that

* A village near Dublin.

† Of the Allies.

‡ Swift always ridiculed the perpetual mention of the fair-sex, in this celebrated periodical paper.

stirring will do it no good, and himself a great deal of hurt; I cannot imagine who should open my letter: it must be done at your side.—If I hear of any thoughts of turning out Mr Manley, I will endeavour to prevent it. I have already had all the gentlemen of Ireland here upon my back often, for defending him. So now I have answered your saucy letter. My humble service to goody Stoyte and Catherine; I will come soon for my dinner.

9. Morning. My cold goes off at last; but I think I have got a small new one. I have no news since last. They say we hear by the way of Calais, that peace is very near concluding. I hope it may be true. I'll go and seal up my letter, and give it myself to-night into the post-office; and so I bid my dearest MD farewell till to-night. I heartily wish myself with them, as hope saved. My willows, and quicksets, and trees, will be finely improved, I hope, this year. It has been fine hard frosty weather yesterday and to-day. Farewell, &c. &c. &c.

LETTER XLI. *

London, Feb. 9, 1711-12.

WHEN my letter is gone, and I have none of yours to answer, my conscience is so clear, and my shoulder so light, and I go on with such courage to prate

* Endorsed, "9 Feb. to 23, inclusive; received March 1."

upon nothing to dear charming MD, you would wonder. I dined to-day with Sir Matthew Dudley, who is newly turned out of the commission of the customs. He affects a good heart, and talks in the extremity of Whiggery, which was always his principle, though he was gentle a little, while he kept in employment.* We can get no packets from Holland. I have not been with any of the ministry these two or three days. I keep out of their way on purpose, for a certain reason, for some time, though I must dine with the secretary † to-morrow, the choosing of the company being left to me. I have engaged Lord Anglesey and Lord Carteret, and have promised to get three more; but I have a mind that none else should be admitted. However, if I like any body at court to-morrow, I may perhaps invite them. I have got another cold, but not very bad.*****

10. I saw Prince Eugene at court to-day very plain. He is plaguy yellow, and literally ugly besides. The court was very full, and people had their birth-day clothes. I was to have invited five; but I only invited two, Lord Anglesey and Lord Carteret. Pshaw, I told you but yesterday. We have no packets from Holland yet. Here are a parcel of drunken Whiggish lords, like your Lord Santry, who come into chocolate-houses, and rail aloud at the Tories, and have challenges sent them, and the next morning come and beg pardon. General

* Upon carrying through the bill for securing the Protestant succession, Sir Matthew Dudley was so zealous for the rights of the Hanover family, that Granville called to him after the debate, "How do you, *Mynherr* Dudley?" to which he answered, alluding to Granville's attachment to what was called the French faction, "Thanks, *Monsieur* Granville."

† St John.

Ross * was like to swinge the Marquis of Winchester† for this trick, the other day; and we have nothing else now to talk of till the parliament has had another bout with the state of the war, as they intend in a few days. They have ordered the Barrier Treaty to be laid before them; and it was talked some time ago, as if there was a design to impeach Lord Townshend, who made it. I have no more politics now. Night, dear MD.

11. I dined with Lord Anglesey to-day, who had seven Irishmen to be my companions, of which two only were coxcombs. One I did not know, and the other was young Bligh, who is a puppy of figure here, with a fine chariot. He asked me one day at court, when I had just been talking with some lords, who stood near me, Doctor, when shall we see you in the county of Meath? I whispered him to take care what he said, for the people would think he was some barbarian. He never would speak to me since, till we met to-day. I went to Lady Masham's to-night, and sat with lord-treasurer and the secretary there till past two o'clock; and when I came home, found some letters from Ireland, which I read, but can say nothing of them till to-morrow, it is so very late; but I must always be, late or early, MD's, &c.

12. One letter was from the Bishop of Clogher last night, and the other from Walls, ‡ about Mrs South's § salary, and his own pension of eighteen

* Charles Ross, Esq., lieutenant-general of the horse under the Duke of Ormond in Flanders, April 5, 1712.

† Charles Paulett, afterwards third Duke of Bolton.

‡ Archdeacon Walls, rector of Castleknock.

§ Widow of Mr South, a commissioner of the revenue in Ireland, and one of the rangers of the Phoenix Park.

pounds for his tithes of the park. I will do nothing in either. The first I cannot serve in, and the other is a trifle; only you may tell him I had his letter, and will speak to Ned Southwell about what he desires me. You say nothing of your dean's receiving my letter.

I find, Clements, whom I recommended to Lord Anglesey * last year, at Walls' desire, or rather the Bishop of Clogher's, is mightily in Lord Anglesey's favour. You may tell the bishop and Walls so. I said to Lord Anglesey, that I was glad I had the good luck to recommend him, &c.

I dined in the city with my printer, to consult with him about some papers lord-treasurer gave me last night, as he always does, too late. However, I will do something with them. My third cold is a little better; I never had any thing like it before, three colds successively; I hope I shall have the fourth.***Three messengers come from Holland to-day, and they brought over the six packets that were due. I know not the particulars yet; for when I was with the secretary at noon, they were just opening. But one thing I find, the Dutch are playing us tricks, and tampering with the French; they are dogs; I shall know more. † *****

13. I dined to-day privately with my friend Lewis, at his lodgings, to consult about some observations on the Barrier Treaty. Our news from Holland is not good. The French raise difficulties, and make such offers to the allies as cannot be accepted: and the Dutch are uneasy that we are likely to get any thing for ourselves; and the Whigs are glad at all this. I came home early, and have been very busy

* Secretary of state for Ireland.

† A few words are here erased in the original.

three or four hours. I had a letter from Dr Pratt to-day by a private hand, recommending the bearer to me, for something I shall not trouble myself about. Wesley writ to recommend the same fellow to me. His expression is, that hearing I am acquainted with my lord-treasurer, he desires I would do so and so. A matter of nothing. What puppies are mankind ! I hope I shall be wiser when I have once done with courts. I think you have not troubled me much with your recommendations. I would do you all the service I could. Pray have you got your apron, Mrs Ppt ? I paid for it but yesterday ; that puts me in mind of it. I writ an inventory of what things I sent by Leigh in one of my letters. Did you compare it with what you got ? I hear nothing of your cards now : do you never play ; yes, at Baligall. Go to bed. *****Night, dearest MD.

14. Our society dined to-day at Mr Secretary's house. I went there at four ; but hearing the House of Commons would sit late upon the Barrier Treaty, I went for an hour to Kensington, to see Lord Masham's children. My young nephew,* his son of six months old, has got a swelling in his neck. I fear it is the evil. We did not go to dinner till eight of night, and I left them at ten. The Commons have been very severe on the Barrier Treaty, as you will find by their votes. A Whig member took out the Conduct of the Allies, and read that passage about the succession with great resentment ; but none seconded him. The church party carried every vote by a great majority. The archbishop of Dublin is so railed at by all who come

* Lord Masham was one of the sixteen brothers of the club ; his son was Swift's nephew, of course.

from Ireland, that I can defend him no longer. Lord Anglesey assured me, that the story of applying Piso out of Tacitus to lord-treasurer being wounded is true. * I believe the Duke of Beaufort will be admitted to our society next meeting. To-day I published the Fable of Midas, a poem, printed in a loose half sheet of paper. † I know not how it will take; but it passed wonderfully at our society to-night; and Mr Secretary read it before me the other night to lord-treasurer, at Lord Masham's, where they equally approved of it. Tell me how it passes with you? I think this paper is larger than ordinary; for here is a six days journal, and no nearer the bottom. I fear these journals are very dull. Note my dullest lines.

15. Mr Lewis and I dined by invitation with a Scotch acquaintance, after I had been very busy in my chamber till two in the afternoon. My third cold is now very troublesome on my breast, especially in the morning. This is a great revolution in my health; colds never used to return so soon with me, or last so long. It is very surprising this news to-day of the dauphin and dauphiness, both dying within six days. They say the old king is almost heart-

* See Vol. II. pp. 222, 223.

† A cruel satire on the Duke of Marlborough, comparing his loss of power and place to that of Midas, deprived of the virtues of his touch, by the streams of Pactolus :

While he his utmost strength applied,
To swim against this popular tide,
The golden spoils flew off apace—
Here fell a pension, there a place.
The torrent merciless imbibes
Commissions, perquisites, and bribes;
By their own weight sunk to the bottom.
Much good may do them that have caught 'em.
And Midas now neglected stands,
With asses ears, and dirty hands.

broke : he has had prodigious mortifications in his family. The dauphin has left two little sons, of four and two years old ; the eldest is sick. There is a foolish story got about the town, that Lord Strafford, one of our plenipctentiaries, is in the interest of France : and it has been a good while said, that lord privy seal * and he do not agree very well ; they are both long practised in business, but neither of them of much parts. Strafford has some life and spirit ; but is infinitely proud, and wholly illiterate.**** Night, MD.

16. I dined to-day in the city with my printer, to finish something I am doing about the Barrier Treaty ; but it is not quite done.† I went this evening to Lord Masham's, where lord-treasurer sat with us till past twelve. The Lords have voted an address to the queen, to tell her they are not satisfied with the king of France's offers. The Whigs brought it in of a sudden ; and the court could not prevent it, and therefore did not oppose it. The House of Lords is too strong in Whigs, notwithstanding the new creations : for they are very diligent, and the Tories as lazy : the side that is down has always most industry. The Whigs intended to have made a vote that would reflect on lord-treasurer ; but their project was not ripe. I hit my face such a rap by calling the coach to stop to-night, that it is plaguy sore, the bone beneath the eye. Night, dearest MD.

17. The court was mighty full to-day, and has been these many Sundays ; but the queen was not at chapel. She has got a little fit of the gout in

* Dr John Robinson, bishop of Bristol.

† It was published under the title of " Remarks on the Barrier Treaty."

her foot. The good of going to court is, that one sees all one's acquaintance, whom otherwise I should hardly meet twice a-year. Prince Eugene dines with the secretary to-day, with about seven or eight general officers, or foreign ministers. They will be all drunk, I am sure. I never was in company with this prince. I have proposed to some lords that we should have a sober meal with him ; but I cannot compass it. It is come over in the Dutch new prints, that I was arrested on an action of 20,000*l.* by the Duke of Marlborough. I did not like my court invitations to-day ; so Sir Andrew Fountaine and I went and dined with Mrs Vanhomrigh. I came home at six, and have been very busy till this minute, and it is past twelve, so I got into bed to write to MD. We reckon the dauphin's death will set forward the peace a good deal. Pray, is Dr Griffith reconciled to me yet ? Have I done enough to soften him ? *****

18. Lewis had Guiscard's picture ; he bought it, and offered it to lord-treasurer, who promised to send for it, but never did ; so I made Lewis give it me, and I have it in my room ; and now lord-treasurer says, he will take it from me. Is that fair ? he designs to have it in length in the clothes he wore when he did the action, and a penknife in his hand ; and Kneller is to copy it from this that I have. I intended to dine with lord-treasurer to-day, but he has put me off till to-morrow ; so I dined with Lord Dupplin. You know Lord Dupplin very well ; he is a brother of the society. Well, but I have received a letter from the bishop of Clogher, to solicit an affair for him with lord-treasurer, and with the parliament, which I will do as soon as fly. I am not near so keen about other people's affairs as Ppt used to reproach me about. It was a judgment on me. Hearkee, idle dearees both, methinks I be-

gin to want a letter from MD : faith, and so I do. I doubt you have been in pain about the report of my being arrested. The pamphleteers have let me alone this month, which is a great wonder : only the third part of the answer to the Conduct, which is lately come out. (Did I tell you of it already ?) The House of Commons goes on in mauling the late ministry and their proceedings.

19. I dined with lord-treasurer to-day, and sat with him till ten, in spite of my teeth, though my printer waited for me to correct a sheet. I told him of four lines I writ extempore with my pencil, on a bit of paper in his house, while he lay wounded. Some of the servants, I suppose, made waste paper of them, and he never heard of them. They were inscribed to Mr Harley's physician thus :

On Britain Europe's safety lies ;
 Britain is lost, if Harley dies.
 Harley depends upon your skill :
 Think what you save, or what you kill.

I proposed that some company should dine with him on the eighth of March, which was the day he was wounded ; but he says he designs that the lords of the cabinet, who then sate with him, should dine that day with him : however, he has invited me to dine. I am not yet rid of my cold ; it plagues me in the morning chiefly. Night, MD.

20. After waiting to catch the secretary coming out from Sir Thomas Hanmer, for two hours in vain, about some business, I went into the city to my printer, to correct some sheets of the Barrier Treaty, and Remarks, which must be finished to-morrow. I have been terribly busy for some days past, with this and some other things ; and I wanted some very necessary papers, which the secretary was to give me, and the pamphlet must not be

published without them; but they are all busy too. Sir Thomas Hanmer is chairman of the committee for drawing up a representation of the state of the nation to the queen, where all the wrong steps of the allies and late ministry about the war will be mentioned. The secretary, I suppose, was helping him about it to-day; I believe it will be a pepperer. Night, dear MD.

21. I have been six hours to-day morning writing nineteen pages of a letter to lord-treasurer, about forming a society or academy, to correct and fix the English language. (Is English a speech or a language?) It will not be above five or six more. I will send it him to-morrow, and will print it, if he desires me. I dined, you know, with our society to-day; Thursday is our day. We had a new member admitted; it was the Duke of Beaufort. We were thirteen met; brother Ormond was not there, but sent his excuse; the prince Eugene dined with him. I left them at seven, being engaged to go to Sir Thomas Hanmer, who desired I would see him at that hour. His business was, that I would *hoenlbp ihainm itaoi dsroanws ubpl tohne'sroeqpo-raensiepnnotlastoiqobn*,* which I consented to do; but do not know whether I shall succeed, because it is a little out of my way: however, I have taken my share. Night, MD.

22. I finished the rest of my letter to lord-treasurer to-day, and sent it to him about one o'clock; and then dined privately with my friend Mr Lewis, to talk over some affairs of moment. I have gotten the 13th volume of Rymer's Collection of the Records of the Tower, for the University of Dublin. I have two volumes now. I will write to the pro-

* Thus deciphered, "help him to draw up the representation."

vost, to know how I shall send them to him ; no, I won't, for I will bring them myself among my own books. I was with Hanmer this morning, and there was the secretary and chancellor of the exchequer* very busy with him, laying their heads together about the representation. I went to Lord Masham's to-night, and Lady Masham made me read her a pretty twopenny pamphlet, called the St Alban's Ghost. † I thought I had writ it myself ; so did they ; but I did not. Lord-treasurer came down to us from the queen, and we staid till two o'clock. That is the best night place I have. The usual company are Lord and Lady Masham, lord-treasurer, Dr Arbuthnot, and I ; sometimes the secretary, ‡ and sometimes Mrs Hill of the bedchamber, Lady Masham's sister. I assure you, it is very late now ; but this goes to-morrow : and I must have time to converse with our little MD. Night, dear MD.

25. I have no news to tell you this last day, nor do I know where I shall dine. I hear the secretary is a little out of order. Perhaps I may dine there, perhaps not. I sent Hanmer what he wanted from me. I know not how he will approve of it. I was to do more of the same sort. I am going out, and must carry this in my pocket to give it at some general post-house. I will talk farther with you at night. I suppose in my next I shall answer a letter from MD that will be sent me on Tuesday. On Tuesday it will be four weeks since I had your last, No. 26. This day se'ennight I expect one,

* Robert Benson, Esq. afterwards created Lord Bingley.

† The title is, "The Story of St Alban's Ghost ; or the Apparition of Mother Haggy, collated from the best Manuscripts."

‡ Mr St John.

for that will be something more than a full month.
Farewell, MD.****

LETTER XLII.

London, Feb. 23, 1711-12.

AFTER having disposed my last letter in the post-office, I am now to begin this with telling MD that I dined with the secretary to-day, who is much out of order with a cold, and feverish; yet he went to the cabinet council to-night at six, against my will. The secretary is much the greatest commoner in England, and turns the whole parliament, who can do nothing without him; and if he lives and has his health, will, I believe, be one day at the head of affairs. I have told him sometimes, that if I were a dozen years younger, I would cultivate his favour, and trust my fortune with his. But what care you for all this? I am sorry when I came first acquainted with this ministry, that I did not send you their names and characters, and then you would have relished what I would have writ, especially if I had let you into the particulars of affairs: but enough of this. Night, dearest rogues.

24. I went early this morning to the secretary, who is not yet well. Sir Thomas Hanmer and the chancellor of the exchequer came while I was there, and he would not let me stir; so I did not go to church, but was busy with them till noon, about the affair I told you in my last. The other two went away; and I dined with the secretary, and found my head very much out of order, but no ab-

solute fit ; and I have not been well all this day. It has shook me a little. I sometimes sit up very late at Lord Masham's, and have writ much for several days past ; but I will amend both ; for I have now very little business, and hope I shall have no more. I am resolved to be a great rider this summer in Ireland. I was to see Mrs Wesley this evening, who has been somewhat better for this month past, and talks of returning to the Bath in a few weeks. Our peace goes on but slowly ; the Dutch are playing tricks, and we do not push it as strongly as we ought. The fault of our court is delay, of which the queen has a great deal ; and lord-treasurer is not without his share. But pray let us know a little of your life and conversation. Do you play at ombre, or visit the dean, and goody Walls and Stoytes, and Manleys, as usual ? I must have a letter from you, to fill the other side of this sheet. Let me know what you do ? Is my aunt alive yet ? O, pray, now I think of it, be so kind to step to my aunt, and take notice of my great grandfather's picture ; you know he has a ring on his finger, with a seal of an anchor and dolphin about it ; but I think there is besides, at the bottom of the picture, the same coat of arms quartered with another, which I suppose was my great grandmother's. If this be so, it is a stronger argument than the seal. And pray see whether you think that coat of arms was drawn at the same time with the picture, or whether it be of a later hand ; and ask my aunt what she knows about it. But perhaps there is no such coat of arms on the picture, and I only dreamed it. My reason is, because I would ask some herald here, whether I should choose that coat, or one in Guillim's large folio of heraldry, where my uncle Godwin is named with another

coat of arms of three stags. This is sad stuff to write ; so night, MD.

25. I was this morning again with the secretary, and we were two hours busy ; and then went together to the Park, Hyde Park, I mean ; and he walked to cure his cold, and we were looking at two Arabian horses sent some time ago to lord-treasurer. The Duke of Marlborough's coach overtook us, with his grace and Lord Godolphin in it ; but they did not see us, to our great satisfaction ; for neither of us desired that either of those two lords should see us together. There was half a dozen ladies riding like cavaliers to take the air. My head is better to-day. I dined with the secretary ; but we did no business after dinner, and at six I walked into the fields ; the days are grown pure and long ; then I went to visit Percival and his family, whom I had seen but once since they came to town. They are going to Bath next month. Countess Doll of Meath* is such an owl, that wherever I visit, people are asking me, whether I know such an Irish lady, and her figure and her foppery ? I came home early, and have been amusing myself with looking into one of the volumes of Rymer's Records of the Tower, and am mighty easy to think I have no urgent business upon my

* Dorothea, younger daughter and coheirress to James Stopford of Tarahill, in the county of Meath, Esq. She had been married to Edward Brabazon, fourth Earl of Meath, who died in 1707. The Countess afterwards married Lieutenant-General Richard Gorges of Kilbrew. She died on the 10th of April 1728, and her husband only survived her two days. Swift made their death the subject of a satirical epitaph upon Dick and Doll. The lady seems to have been no favourite of his. She was in 1711 a widow, with a large independent fortune.

hands. My third cold is not yet off; I sometimes cough, and am not right with it in the morning. Did I tell you, that I believe it is Lady Masham's hot rooms that give it me? I never knew such a stove; and in my conscience, I believe both my lord and she, my lord treasurer, Mr Secretary, and myself, have all suffered by it. We have all had colds together, but I walk home on foot. Night, dear MD.

26 I was again busy with the secretary. **** We read over some papers, and did a good deal of business. I dined with him, and we were to do more business after dinner; but after dinner is after dinner—an old saying and a true, “much drinking, little thinking.” We had company with us, and nothing could be done; and I am to go there again to-morrow. I have now nothing to do; and the parliament, by the queen's recommendation, is to take some method for preventing libels, &c. which will include pamphlets, I suppose. I do not know what method they will take, but it comes on in a day or two. To-day in the morning I visited upward; first I saw the Duke of Ormond below stairs, and gave him joy of his being declared general in Flanders; then I went up one pair of stairs, and sate with the Duchess; then I went up another pair of stairs, and paid a visit to Lady Betty; and desired her woman to go up to the garret, that I might pass half an hour with her; but she was young and handsome, and would not. The Duke is our president this week, and I have bespoke a small dinner on purpose, for good example. Night, my dear little rogues.

27. I was again with the secretary this morning; but we only read over some papers with Sir Thomas Hanmer; then I called at lord-treasurer's; it was his levee day, but I went up to his bed-cham-

ber, and said what I had to say. I came down and peeped in at the chamber, where a hundred fools were waiting, and two streets were full of coaches. I dined in the city with my printer,* and came back at six to lord-treasurer, who had invited me to dinner, but I refused him. I sate there an hour or two, and then went to Lord Masham's. They were all abroad : so truly I came, and read whatever stuff was next me. I can sit and be idle now, which I have not been above a year past. However, I will stay out the session, to see if they have any farther commands for me, and that I suppose will end in April. But I may go somewhat before, for I hope all will be ended by then, and we shall have either a certain peace, or certain war. The ministry is contriving new funds for money by lotteries; and we go on as if the war were to continue; but I believe it will not. It is pretty late now, young women; so I bid you night, own dear, dear little rogues.

28. I have been packing up some books in a great box I have bought, and must buy another for clothes and luggage. This is a beginning toward a removal. I have sent to Holland for a dozen shirts, and design to buy another new gown and hat. I will come over like a Zinkerman, and lay out nothing in clothes in Ireland this good while. I have writ this night to the provost. Our society met to-day as usual, and we were fourteen, beside the Earl of Arran,* whom his brother the Duke of Ormond

* Mr John Barber.

† Charles Butler, younger son of Thomas, the gallant Earl of Ossory, brother to the second, and grandson to the first Duke of Ormond. He was created Earl of Arran in Ireland, and a Baron in England by the title of Lord Butler of Weston, in 1693.

brought among us against all order. We were mightily shocked; but, after some whispers, it ended in choosing Lord Arran one of our society, which I opposed to his face; but it was carried by all the rest against me.

29. This is leap-year, and this is leap-day. Prince George was born on this day. People are mistaken; and some here think it is St David's day; but they do not understand the virtue of leap-year. I have nothing to do now, boys, and have been reading all this day like Gumdragon; and yet I was dictating some trifles this morning to a printer. I dined with a friend hard by, and the weather was so discouraging I could not walk. I came home early, and have read two hundred pages of Arrian. Alexander the Great is just dead; I do not think he was poisoned: between you and me, all those are but idle stories: it is certain that neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus thought so, and they were both with him when he died. It is a pity we have not their histories. The bill for limiting members of parliament to have but so many places, passed the House of Commons, and will pass the House of Lords, in spite of the ministry; which you know is a great lessening of the queen's power. Four of the new lords voted against the court in this point. It is certainly a good bill in the reign of an ill prince; but I think things are not settled enough for it at present. And the court may want a majority at a pinch. Night, dear little rogues. Love Pdfr.

March 1. I went into the city, to inquire after poor Stratford, who has put himself a prisoner into the Queen's Bench, for which his friends blame him very much, because his creditors designed to be very easy with him. He grasped at too many things together, and that was his ruin. There is one circumstance relative to Lieutenant-general Meredith;

that is very melancholy : Meredith was turned out of all his employments last year, and had about 10,000*l.* left to live on. Stratford, upon friendship, desired he might have the management of it for Meredith, to put it into the stocks and funds for the best advantage ; and now he has lost it all.— You have heard me often talk of Stratford ; we were class-fellows at school and university. I dined with some merchants, his friends, to-day, and they said they expected his breaking this good while. I gave him notice of a treaty of peace, while it was a secret, of which he might have made good use, but that helped to ruin him ; for he gave money, reckoning there would be actually a peace for this time, and consequently stocks rise high. Ford narrowly escaped losing 500*l.* by him, and so did I too. Night, my two dearest lives MD.

2. Morning. I was wakened at three this morning, my man and the people of the house telling me of a great fire in the Haymarket. I slept again, and two hours after my man came in again, and told me it was my poor brother Sir William Wyndham's* house burnt ; and that two maids leaping out of an upper room to avoid the fire, both fell on their heads, one of them upon the iron spikes before the door, and both lay dead in the streets. It is supposed to have been some carelessness of one or both those maids. The Duke of Ormond was there helping to put out the fire, Brother Wyndham gave 6000*l.* but a few months ago for that house, as he told me, and it was very richly fur-

* Sir William Wyndham, well known as a leader of the Tory interest. Pope thus celebrates him,

Wyndham just to freedom and the throne,
The master of our passions and his own.

nished. I shall know more particulars at night.— He married Lady Catherine Seymour, the Duke of Somerset's daughter; you know her, I believe.— At night. Wyndham's young child escaped very narrowly; Lady Catherine escaped barefoot; they all went to Northumberland house. Mr Bridges's house next door is damaged much, and was like to be burnt. Wyndham has lost above 10,000*l.* by this accident. His lady above a thousand pounds worth of clothes. It was a terrible accident. He was not at court to-day. I dined with Lord Masham. The queen was not at church. Night, MD.

3. Pray tell Walls, that I spoke to the Duke of Ormond and Mr Southwell about his friend's affair, who, I find, needed not me for a solicitor; for they both told me the thing would be done. I likewise mentioned his own affair to Mr Southwell, and I hope that will be done too; for Southwell seems to think it reasonable, and I will mind him of it again. Tell him this nakedly. You need not know the particulars. They are secrets; one of them is about Mrs South having a pension; the other about his salary from the government for the tithes of the park, that lie in his parish, to be put upon the establishment. I dined in the city with my printer, with whom I had some small affair. I have no large work on my hands now. I was with lord-treasurer this morning; and what care you for that? You dined with the dean to-day. Monday is parson's holiday. And you lost your money at cards and dice; the giver's device. So I'll go to bed. Night, my two dearest little rogues.

4. I sat to-day with poor Mrs Wesley, who made me dine with her. She is much better than she was. I heartily pray for her health, out of the entire love I bear to her worthy husband. This day has passed very insignificantly. But it is a great

comfort to me now, that I can come home and read, and have nothing upon my hands to write. I was at Lord Masham's to-night, and staid there till one. Lord-treasurer was there; but I thought he looked melancholy, just as he did at the beginning of the session, and he was not so merry as usual. In short, the majority in the House of Lords is a very weak one; and he has much ado to keep it up; and he is not able to make those removes he would, and oblige his friends; and I doubt he does not take care enough about it, or rather cannot do all himself, and will not employ others: which is his great fault, as I have often told you. It is late. Night, MD.

5. I wish you a merry Lent. I hate Lent; I hate different diets, and furmity and butter, and herb porridge; and sour devout faces of people, who only put on religion for seven weeks.* I was at the secretary's office this morning; and there a gentleman brought me two letters, dated last October; one from the bishop of Clogher, the other from Walls. The gentleman is called Colonel Newburgh. I think you mentioned him to me some time ago; he has business in the House of Lords. I will do him what service I can. The representation of the House of Commons is printed; I have not seen it yet; it is plaguy severe, they say. I dined with Dr Arbuthnot, and had a true lenten dinner, not in point of victuals, but spleen; for his wife and a child or two were sick in the house, and that was full as mortifying as fish. We have had

* Swift, much attached as he was to the church of England, cordially despised that austere attention to fasts, &c. which, as practised by the more rigid high churchmen, approached to the Roman Catholic observances.

mighty fine cold frosty weather for some days past. I hope you take the advantage of it, and walk now and then. You never answer that part of my letters, where I desire you to walk. I must keep my breath to cool my lenten porridge. Tell Jemmy Leigh that his boy that robbed him, now appears about the town: Patrick has seen him once or twice. I knew nothing of his being robbed till Patrick told me he had seen the boy. I wish it had been Sterne that had been robbed, to be revenged for the box that he lost, and be poxed to him. Night, MD.

6. I hear Mr Prior has suffered by Stratford's breaking. I was yesterday to see Prior, who is not well, and I thought he looked melancholy. He can ill afford to lose money. I walked before dinner in the Mall a good while with Lord Arran and Lord Dupplin, two of my brothers, and then we went to dinner, where the Duke of Beaufort was our president. We were but eleven to-day. We are now in all nine lords and ten commoners. The Duke of Beaufort had the confidence to propose his brother-in-law, the Earl of Danby, to be a member: but I opposed it so warmly, that it was waved. Danby is not above twenty, and we will have no more boys, and we want but two to make up our number. I staid till eight, and then we all went away soberly. The Duke of Ormond's treat last week cost 20l. though it was only four dishes and four without a desert; and I bespoke it in order to be cheap. Yet I could not prevail to change the house. Lord-treasurer is in a rage with us for being so extravagant: and the wine was not reckoned neither: for that is always brought by him that is president. Lord Orrery is to be president next week; and I will see whether it cannot be cheaper; or else we will leave the house.*** Lord

Masham made me go home with him to-night to eat boiled oysters. Take oysters, wash them clean; that is, wash their shells clean; then put your oysters into an earthen pot, with their hollow sides down,* then put this pot covered into a great kettle with water, and so let them boil. Your oysters are boiled in their own liquor, and * not mix water. Lord-treasurer was not with us; he was very ill to-day with a swimming in the head, and is gone home to be cupped, and sent to desire Lady Masham to excuse him to the queen. Night, dear MD.

7. I was to-day at the House of Lords about a friend's bill. Then I crossed the water at Westminster stairs to Southwark, went through St George's Fields to the Mint, which is the dominion of the King's Bench prison, where Stratford lodges in a blind alley, and writ to me to come to him; but he was gone to the Change. I thought he had something to say to me about his own affairs. I found him at his usual coffeehouse, and went to his own lodgings, and dined with him and his wife, and other company. His business was only to desire I would intercede with the ministry about his brother-in-law, Ben Burton, of Dublin, the banker, who is likely to come into trouble, as we hear about spreading false whiggish news. I hate Burton, and told Stratford so; and I will advise the Duke of Ormond to make use of it, to keep the rogue in awe. Mrs Stratford tells me her husband's creditors have consented to give him liberty to get up his debts abroad; and she hopes he will pay them all. He was cheerfuller than I have seen him this great while. I have walked much to-day.—Night, dearest rogues.

* *And should be do.*

8. This day twelvemonth Mr Harley was stabbed: but he is ill, and takes physic to-day, I hear, ('tis now morning;) and cannot have the cabinet council with him, as he intended, nor me to say grace. I am going to see him. Pray read the Representation; it is the finest that ever was writ.—Some of it is Pdfr's style; but not very much. This is the day of the queen's accession to the crown, so it is a great day. I am going to court, and will dine with Lord Masham; but I must go this moment to see the secretary, about some business; so I will steal up this, and put it in the post. Farewell, dearest hearts and souls, MD.

LETTER XLIII.

London March. 8, 1711-12.

I CARRIED my forty-second letter in my pocket till evening, and then put it in the general post.—I went in the morning to see lord-treasurer, who had taken physic, and was drinking his broth. I had been with the secretary before, to recommend a friend, one Dr Freind, to be physician general; and the secretary promised to mention it to the queen. I can serve every body but myself. Then I went to court, and carried lord-keeper and the secretary to dine with Lord Masham, when we drank the queen and lord-treasurer with every health, because this was the day of his stabbing.—Then I went and played pools at picquet with Lady

Masham and Mrs Hill; won ten shillings, gave a crown to the box and came home. I met at my lodgings a letter from Jo, with a bit annexed from Ppt. What Jo asks is entirely out of my way; and I take it for a foolish whim in him. Besides, I know not who is to give a patent; if the Duke of Ormond, I would speak to him; but good security is all; and to think that I would speak to lord-treasurer for any such matter at random, is a jest. Did I tell you of a race of rakes, called the Mohocks, that play the devil about this town every night, slit people's noses, and bid them, &c? Night, sirrahs, and love Pdfr. Night, MD.

9. I was at court to-day, and no body invited me to dinner, except one or two whom I did not care to dine with; so I dined with Mrs Vanhounrigh. Young Davenant was telling us at court how he was set upon by the Mohocks, and how they ran his chair through with a sword.* It is not safe being in the streets at night for them. The bishop

* Ever since the accession of James I. the streets of London had been infested with a set of disorderly debauchees, who, under the various names of nickers, scowrrers, &c. insulted passengers, and attacked the watchmen. Shadwell wrote a play called, "The Scowrrers," in which the heroes, men whom he intended to represent as persons of wit, honour, and fashion, are engaged in this disorderly exercise. One of them, a veteran scowrrer, thus describes the champions of his youth: "Puh, this is nothing; why, I knew the *Hectors*, and before them the *Muns*, and the *Tityre Tu's*; they were brave fellows indeed; in those days, a man could not go from the Rose Tavern to the Piazza once, but he must venture his life twice, my dear Sir Willy." The fame of the *Muns*, the *Hectors*, and the *Tityre Tu's*, has been obscured by that of the Mohocks, whose insults upon the public were more daring and desperate than those of any Scowrrers who had preceded them. They are often mentioned in the *Spectator*; and Gay has commemorated some of their exploits in *Trivia*:—

of Salisbury's son is said to be of the gang.* They are all Whigs; and a great lady sent to me, to speak to her father and to lord-treasurer, to have a care of them, and to be careful likewise of myself; for she heard they had malicious intentions against the ministers, and their friends. I know not whether there be any thing in this, though others are of the same opinion.† The weather still continues very

"Now is the time that rakes their revels keep;
Kindlers of riot, enemies of sleep.
His scatter'd pence the flying Nicker flings,
And with the copper shower the casement rings.
Who has not heard the Scowrers midnight fame;
Who has not trembled at the Mohock's name?
Was there a watchman took his hourly rounds,
Safe from their blows, or new-invented wounds!
I pass their desp'rate deeds, and mischiefs done,
Where from Snow-hill black steepy torrents run;
How matrons, poop'd within the hogshead's womb,
Were tumbled furious thence; the rolling tomb
O'er the stones thunders, bounds from side to side:
So Regulus, to save his country, died."

* Thomas Burnet, third son of the celebrated Bishop of Salisbury, at this time a student in the Temple, and remarkable for vivacity and dissipation. There are many hints of the irregularity of his conduct in a satirical piece by Dr Arbuthnot, called, "Notes and Memorandums of the six days preceding the death of a late Right Reverend ———." And if it is true, as reported, that he really, in anticipation of the Tory satirists, wrote the celebrated song on his father's death, which begins,

The fiends were all brawling
When Burnet descending, &c.

his character for gracelessness and ingenuity may be at once admitted. It is said that the Bishop one day observing him grave, asked him, what he meditated? "A greater work than your Lordship's History of the Reformation—my own reformation." This task he at last achieved; and having gone through several offices of trust and importance, died one of the justices of the Common Pleas, in 1753.

† In the History of the four last years of Queen Anne, Swift does not hesitate to give it as a historical fact, that the outrages of the Mohocks were part of an extensive plan to create riot and

fine and frosty. I walked in the Park this evening, and came home early to avoid the Mohocks. Lord-treasurer is better. Night, my own two dearest MD.

10. I went this morning again to lord-treasurer, who is quite recovered; and I staid till he went out. I dined with a friend in the city, about a little business of printing; but not my own. You must buy a small twopenny pamphlet, called, *Law is a bottomless Pit*.^{*} It is very prettily written, and there will be a Second Part. The commons are very slow in bringing in their bill to limit the press, and the pamphleteers make good use of their time; for there come out three or four every day. Well, but is not it time methinks to have a letter from MD: it is now six weeks since I had your number 26. I can assure you I expect one before this goes; and I will make shorter days journals than usual, cause I hope to fill up a good deal of this side with my answer. Our fine weather lasts yet, but grows a little windy. We shall have rain soon, I suppose. Go to cards, sirrahs, and I to sleep. Night, MD.

11. Lord-treasurer has lent the long letter I writ him to Prior; and I can't get Prior to return it. I want to have it printed, and to make up this academy for the improvement of our language. Faith, we never shall improve it so much as FW has done; shall we? No, faith, our richer *Gengridge*.† I dined privately with my friend Lewis, and then went

disturbance in the night; under colour of which, the Treasurer might be assassinated. This infamous plot he ascribes to Prince Eugene's contrivance.

^{*} Or, "The History of John Bull."

† For language Swift alludes to the jargon they used in their little coterie, and of which the reader has had several specimens.

to see Ned Southwell, and talked with him about Walls' business, and Mrs South's. The latter will be done; but his own not. Southwell tells me, that it must be laid before lord-treasurer, and the nature of it explained, and a great deal of clutter, which is not worth the while; and may be, lord-treasurer won't do it at last; and it is, as Walls says himself, not above forty shillings a year difference. You must tell Walls this, unless he would have the business a secret from you; in that case only say, I did all I could with Ned Southwell, and it cannot be done; for it must be laid before lord-treasurer, &c. who will not do it; and besides, it is not worth troubling his lordship. So tonight, my two dear little MD.

12. Here is the devil and all to do with these Mohocks. Grub-street papers about them fly like lightning, and a list printed of near eighty put into several prisons, and all a lie; and I begin almost to think there is no truth, or very little in the whole story. He that abused Davenant, was a drunken gentleman; none of that gang. My man tells me, that one of the lodgers heard in a coffee-house, publicly, that one design of the Mohocks was upon me, if they could catch me; and though I believe nothing of it, I forbear walking late, and they have put me to the charge of some shillings already. I dined to-day with lord-treasurer and two gentlemen of the Highlands of Scotland; yet very polite men. I sat there till nine, and then went to Lord Masham's, where lord-treasurer followed me, and we sat till twelve; and I came home in a chair, for fear of the Mohocks; and I have given him warning of it too. Little Harrison, whom I sent to Holland, is now actually made queen's secretary at the Hague. It will be in the Gazette to-morrow. It is worth twelve hundred pounds a year.

Here is a young fellow has writ some Sea Eclogues, Poems of Mermen, resembling pastorals and shepherds, and they are very pretty, and the thought is new. Mermen are he-mermaids; Tritons, natives of the sea. Do you understand me? I think to recommend him to our society to-morrow. His name is Diaper. P— on him, I must do something for him, and get him out of the way. I hate to have any new wits rise; but when they do rise, I would encourage them; but they tread on our heels, and thrust us off the stage. Night, dearest MD.

13. You would laugh to see our printer constantly attending our society after dinner, and bringing us whatever new thing he has printed, which he seldom fails to do; yet he had nothing to day. Lord Lansdown, one of our society, was offended at a passage in this day's Examiner, which he thinks reflects on him, as I believe it does, though in a mighty civil way. It is only that his underlings cheat; but that he is a very fine gentleman every way, &c. Lord Orrery was president to-day; but both our dukes were absent. Brother Wyndham recommended Diaper to the society. I believe we shall make a contribution among ourselves, which I don't like. Lord-treasurer has yet done nothing for us; but we shall try him soon. The company parted early; but Freind, and Prior, and I, sat a while longer, and reformed the state, and found fault with the ministry. Prior hates his commission of the customs, because it spoils his wit. He says he dreams of nothing but cockets, and docketts, and drawbacks, and other jargon, words of the custom-house. Our good weather went away yesterday, and the nights are now dark, and I came home before ten. Night, my dearest sirrahs.

14. I have been plagued this morning with so-

licitors, and with no body more than my brother, Dr Freind, who must needs have me to get old Dr Lawrence, the physician general, turned out and himself in. He has argued with me so long upon the reasonableness of it, and I am fully convinced it is very unreasonable; and so I would tell the secretary, if I had not already made him speak to the queen. Besides, I know not but my friend Dr Arbuthnot, would be content to have it himself, and I love him ten times better than Freind. What's all this to you? but I must talk of things as they happen in the day, whether you know any thing of them or not. I dined in the city, and, coming back, one parson Richardson* of Ireland overtook me. He was here last summer, upon a project of converting the Irish, and printing Bibles, &c. in that language, and is now returned to pursue it on. He tells me, Dr Coghill came last night to town. I will send to see how he does to-morrow. He gave me a letter from Walls about his old business. Night, dearest MD.

15. I had intended to be early with the secretary this morning, when my man admitted up stairs one Nr Newcomb, an officer, who brought me a letter from the Bishop of Clogher, with four lines added by Mr Ashe, all about that Newcomb. I think, indeed, his case is hard; but God knows whether I shall be able to do him any service. People will not understand: I am a very good second; but I care not to begin a recommendation, unless it be for an intimate friend. However, I will do what I can. I missed the secretary, and then walked to Chelsea, to dine with the dean of Christchurch, †

* John Richardson, rector of Annult, alias Belturbet, and chaplain to the Duke of Ormond.

† Dr Atterbury.

who was engaged to Lord Orrery, with some other Christchurch-men. He made me go with him, whether I would or not; for they have this long time admitted me a Christchurch-man. Lord Orrery, generally every winter, gives his old acquaintance of that college a dinner. There were nine clergymen at table, and four laymen. The dean and I soon left them; and after a visit or two, I went to Lord Masham's, and lord-treasurer, Arbuthnot, and I, sat till twelve. And now I am come home, and got to-bed. I came a-foot, but had my man with me. Lord-treasurer advised me not to go in a chair, because the Mohocks insult chairs more than they do those on foot. They think there is some mischievous design in those villains. Several of them, lord-treasurer told me, are actually taken up. I heard, at dinner, that one of them was killed last night. We shall know more in a little time. I do not like them as to men. ****

16. This morning, at the secretary's, I met general Ross, and recommended Newcomb's case to him, who promises to join with me in working up the Duke of Ormond to do something for him. Lord Winchelsea told me to-day at court, that two of the Mohocks caught a maid of old Lady Winchelsea's, at the door of their house in the park, with a candle, and had just lighted out somebody. They cut all her face, and beat her without any provocation. I hear my friend Lewis has got a Mohock in one of the messenger's hands. † The queen was

† The following account of the brutal practices of these rakes is given in the Spectator :—" Agreeable to their name, the vowed design of their institution is mischief; and upon this foundation all their rules and orders are framed. An outrageous ambi-

at church to-day, but was carried in an open chair. She has got an ugly cough, Arbuthnot, her physician, says. I dined with Crowe, late governor of Barbados; an acquaintance of Sterne's. After dinner I asked him, whether he had heard of Stearn? Here he is, said he, at the door in a coach: and in came Stearn. He has been here this week. He is buying a captainship, in his cousin Stearn's regiment. He told me, he left Jemmy Leign playing at cards with you. He is to give 800 guineas for his commission. I suppose you know all this better than

tion of doing all possible hurt to their fellow creatures, is the great cement of their assembly, and the only qualification required in the members. In order to exert this principle in its full strength and perfection, they take care to drink themselves to a pitch, that is, beyond the possibility of attending to any motions of reason or humanity; then make a general sally, and attack all that are so unfortunate as to walk the streets through which they patrol. Some are knocked down, others stabbed, others cut and carbonaded. To put the watch to a total rout, and mortify some of those inoffensive militia, is reckoned a *coup d'eclat*. The particular talents by which these misanthropes are distinguished from one another, consist in the various kinds of barbarities which they execute upon their prisoners. Some are celebrated for a happy dexterity in tipping the lion upon them; which is performed by squeezing the nose flat to the face, and boring out the eyes with their fingers. Others are called the dancing-masters, and teach their scholars to cut capers, by running swords through their legs; a new invention, whether originally French, I cannot tell. A third sort are the tumblers, whose office is to set women on their heads, and commit certain indecencies, or rather barbarities, on the limbs which they expose. But these I forbear to mention, because they cannot but be very shocking to the reader, as well as the spectator."—*Spectator*, No. 324. A proclamation was issued, offering 100*l.* reward to any one who would bring to justice any of these desperadoes. But as the only persons tried for such offences proved to be common foot-pads, it was keenly argued by the Whigs, that the notion of these riots and barbarities had been greatly exaggerated by the agents of ministers, in order to throw odium on the opposition.

I. How shall I have room to answer your letter when I get it, I am gone so far already? Night, dearest rogues.

17. Dr Sacheverel came this morning, to give me thanks for getting his brother an employment. It was but six or seven weeks since I spoke to lord-treasurer for him. Sacheverel brought Trap along with him. We dined together at my printer's, and I sate with them till seven. I little thought, and I believe so did he, that ever I should be his solicitor to the present ministry, when I left Ireland. This is the seventh I have now provided for since I came, and can do nothing for myself. I don't care; I shall have ministries and other people obliged to me. Trap is a coxcomb, and the other is not very deep; and their judgment in things of wit and sense, is miraculous. The second part of *Law is a bottomless Pit* is just now printed, and better, I think, than the first. Night, my two dear saucy little rogues.

18. There is a proclamation out against the Mohocks. One of those that are taken, is a baronet. I dined with poor Mrs Wesley, who is returning to the Bath. Mrs Percival's youngest daughter has got the small-pox, but will do well. I walked this evening in the Park, and met Prior, who made me go home with him, where I staid till past twelve, and could not get a coach, and was alone, and was afraid enough of the Mohocks. I will do so no more, though I got home safe. Prior and I were talking discontentedly of some managements, that no more people are turned out, which gets lord-treasurer many enemies: but whether the fault be in him, or the queen, I know not; I doubt, in both. Young women, it is now seven weeks since I received your last; but I expect one next packet, to fill the rest of this paper; but, if it don't come, I'll

dô without it: so I wish you good luck at ombre with the dean. Night, ****

19. Newcomb came to me this morning, and I went to the Duke of Ormond to speak for him; but the Duke was just going out to take the oaths for general. The Duke of Shrewsbury is to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland. I walked with Domville and Ford to Kensington, where we dined, and it cost me above a crown. I don't like it, as my man said. It was very windy walking. I saw there Lord Masham's children. The youngest, my nephew, I fear, has got the king's evil; the other two are daughters of three and four years old. The gardens there are mighty fine. I passed the evening at Lord Masham's with lord-treasurer and Arbuthnot, as usual, and we staid till past one; but I had my man to come with me, and at home I found three letters; one from one Fetherston, a parson, with a postscript of Tisdall's to recommend him. And Fetherston, whom I never saw, has been so kind as to give me a letter of attorney, to recover a debt for him: another from Lord Abercorn, to get him the dukedom of Châtelleraut from the king of France; in which I will do what I can, for his pretensions are very just: * the third I warrant you,

* The claims of the Earl of Abercorn upon the dukedom of Chatelherault stand thus. That peerage was conferred on the Earl of Arran, during the minority of Queen Mary of Scotland, as a part of the gratuity which he received from the court of France, for resigning the regency of the kingdom to Mary of Lorraine, the Queen's mother. The eldest son of the Earl of Arran, first duke of Chatelherault, died without issue. The male line of his second son became extinct by the death of William, the second duke of Hamilton, mortally wounded at the battle of Worcester, 1651. The estate and title of Duchess of Hamilton devolved upon an heir female, Lady Anne Hamilton, who married the Earl of Sel-

from our MD. It is a great stir this, of getting a dukedom from the king of France: but it is only to speak to the secretary, and get the Duke of Ormond to engage in it, and mention the case to lord-treasurer, &c. and this I shall do. Night, dearest little MD.

20. I was with the Duke of Ormond this morning, about Lord Abercorn, Dr Freind, and Newcomb. Some will do, and some will not do: that's wise, mistresses. The Duke of Shrewsbury is certainly to be your governor. I will go in a day or two, and give the Duchess joy, and recommend the archbishop of Dublin to her. I writ to the archbishop, some months ago, that it would be so: and told him I would speak a good word for him to the Duchess; and he says he has a great respect for her, &c. I made our society change their house, and we met together at the Star and Garter in the Pall Mall. Lord Arran was president. The other dog was so extravagant in his bills, that for four dishes and four, first and second course, without wine or desert, he charged twenty-one pounds, six shillings, and eightpence, to the Duke of Ormond. We design, when all have been presidents this turn, to turn it into a reckoning of so much a head; but we shall break up when the session ends. Night, dearest.

21. Morning. Now I will answer MD's letter, N. 27; you that are adding to your numbers and

kirk. Their son was James, fourth duke of Hamilton, often mentioned in this journal. But as this nobleman only represented the House of Hamilton, in right of his mother, it became a question, whether the French dukedom of Chatelherault ought to descend to him; or whether, as a male fief, it should pass to the Earl of Abercorn, the lineal descendant of Lord Claud Hamilton, third son of James, the first duke of Chatelherault, he being undoubted heir-male of the Hamilton family.

grumbling, had made it 26, and then altered it to 27. I believe it is above a month since your last; yes, it is above seven weeks since I had your last: but I ought to consider that this was twelve days right [writing,] so that makes it pretty even. O, the sorry jades, with their excuses of a fortnight at Baligail, seeing their friends, and landlord running away. O what a trouble and a bustle!—No—if you will have it.—I am not dean of Wells,* nor know any thing of being so; nor is there any thing in the story; and that's enough. It was not Roper sent that news: Roper is my humble slave.—Yes, I heard of your resolves, and that Burton was embroiled. Stratford spoke to me in his behalf; but I said I hated the rascal. Poor Catherine gone to Wales? But she will come back again, I hope. I would see her in my journey, if she were near the road; and bring her over. Joe is a fool; that sort of business is not at all in my way, pray put him off it. People laugh when I mention it. Beg your pardon, mistress: I am glad you like the apron: no harm, I hope. And so MD wonders she has not a letter all the day; she will have it soon. The deuce he is! married to that vengeance! Men are not to be believed. I don't think her a fool. Who would have her? Dilly will be governed like an ass; and she will govern like a lion: Is not that true, Ppt? Why, Sterne told me he left you at ombre with Leigh; and yet you never saw him. I know nothing of his wife being here: it may cost her a —— (I don't like to write that word plain.)

* The deanery of Wells was at this time vacant by the death of Dr William Graham, the last incumbent. Both friends and foes thought it would have been conferred upon Swift; but the unseen influence which counteracted his preferment predominated, and it was given to Dr Matthew Brailsford.

He is a little in doubt about buying his commission. Yes, I will bring you over all the little papers I can think on. I thought I sent you, by Leigh, all that were good at that time. The author of the Sea Eclogues sent books to the society yesterday, and we gave him guineas a-piece; and, may be, will do farther from him (for him, I mean.) So the bishop of Clogher, and lady, were your guests for a night or two. Why Ppt you are grown a great gamester and company keeper. I did say to myself, when I read those names, just what you guess; and you clear up the matter wonderfully. You may converse with those two nymphs if you please, but — take me if ever I do. Yes, faith, it is delighttul to hear that Ppt is every way Ppt now, in health and looks and all. Pray God keep her so, many, many, many years. The session, I doubt, will not be over till the end of April; however, I shall not wait for it, if the ministry will let me go sooner. I wish I were just now in my little garden at Laracor. I would set out for Dublin early on Monday, and bring you an account of my young trees, which you are better acquainted with than the ministry, and so am I. O, now you have got number 41, have you so? Why perhaps I forgot, and kept it to next post in my pocket: I have done such tricks. My cold is better, but not gone. I want air and riding. Hold your tongue, you Ppt, about colds at Moor Park! the case is quite different. I will do what you desire me for Tisdall, when I next see Lord Anglesey. Pray give him my service. The weather is warm these three or four days and rainy. I am to dine to-day with Lewis and Darteneuf at Somers's, the clerk of the kitchen at court. Darteneuf loves good bits and good sups. Good morrow, little sirrahs.—At night. I dined, as I said; and it cost me a shilling for a

chair. It has rained all day, and is very warm. Lady Masham's young son, my nephew, is very ill; and she is sick with grief. I pity her mightily. I am got home early, and going to write to the bishop of Clogher, but have no politics to send him. Night, my own two dearest saucy dear ones.

22. I am going into the city this morning with a friend about some business; so I will immediately seal up this, and keep it in my pocket till evening, and then put it in the post. The weather continues warm and gloomy. I have heard no news since I went to bed, so can say no more. Pray send ***** that I may have time to write to ***** about it. I have here underneath given order† for forty shillings to Mrs Brent, which you will send to Parvisol. Farewell, dearest dear MD, and love Pdfr dearly. Farewell, MD, MD, MD, &c. there, there, there, there, there, and there, and there again.

LETTER XLIV.

London, March 22, 1711-12.

UGLY, nasty weather. I was in the city to-day with Mrs Wesley and Mrs Percival, to get money from a banker for Mrs Wesley, who goes to Bath on Thursday. I left him there, and dined with a

† This is cut off.

friend, and went to see lord-treasurer; but he had people with him I did not know: so I went to Lady Masham's. and lost a crown with her at picquet, and then sate with Lord Masham and lord-treasurer, &c. till past one; but I had my man with me, to come home. I gave in my forty-third, and one for the bishop of Clogher, to the post-office, as I came from the city; and so you know it is late now, and I have nothing to say for this day. Our Mohocks are all vanished; however, I shall take care of my person. * Night, my dearest MD.

23. I was this morning, before church, with the secretary, about Lord Abercorn's business, and some others. My soliciting season is come, and will last as long as the session. I went late to court, and the company was almost gone. The court serves me for a coffeehouse; once a week I meet an acquaintance there, that I should not otherwise see in a quarter. There is a flying report, that the French have offered a cessation of arms, and to give us Dunkirk, and the Dutch Namur, for security, till the peace is made. The Duke of Ormond, they say, goes in a week. Abundance of his equipage

* In ridicule probably of the real or affected fears of the Tories, the Spectator informs the public: "The late panic fear was, in the opinion of many deep and penetrating persons, of the same nature. These will have it, that the Mohocks are like those spectres and apparitions which frighten several towns or villages in her majesty's dominions, though they were never seen by any of the inhabitants. Others are apt to think, that these Mohocks are a kind of bull beggars, first invented by prudent married men and masters of families, in order to deter their wives and daughters from taking the air at unseasonable hours; and that, when they tell them 'the Mohocks will catch them,' it is a caution of the same nature with that of our forefathers, when they bid their children have a care of Rawhead or Bloody-bones."---*Spectator*, No. 347.

s already gone. His friends are afraid the expense of this employment will ruin him, since he must lose the government of Ireland. I dined privately with a friend, and refused all dinners offered me at court; which however were but two, and I did not like either. Did I tell you of a scoundrel about the court, that sells employments to ignorant people, and cheats them of their money? He lately made a bargain for the vice-chamberlain's place, for seven thousand pounds, and had received some guineas earnest; but the whole thing was discovered the other day, and examination taken of it by Lord Dartmouth, and I hope he will be swinged. The vice-chamberlain told me several particulars of it last night at Lord Masham's. Can DD play at ombre yet, enough to hold the cards while Ppt steps into the next room? Night, dearest sirrahs.

24. This morning I recommended Newcomb again to the Duke of Ormond, and left Dick Stewart to do it farther. Then I went to visit the Duchess of Hamilton, who was not awake. So I went to the Duchess of Shrewsbury, and sat an hour at her toilet. I talked to her about the Duke's being lord-lieutenant. She said she knew nothing of it; but I rallied her out of that, and she resolves not to stay behind the Duke. I intend to recommend the bishop of Clogher to her for an acquaintance. He will like her very well: she is, indeed, a most agreeable woman, and a great favourite of mine. I know not whether the ladies in Ireland will like her. I was at the court of requests, to get some lords to be at a committee to-morrow, about a friend's bill: and then the Duke of Beaufort gave me a poem, finely bound in folio, printed at Stamford, and writ by a country squire. Lord Exeter desired the Duke to give it the queen, because the author is his friend; but the Duke desired I would

let him know whether it was good for any thing. I brought it home, and will return it to-morrow, as the dullest thing I ever read; and advise the Duke not to present it. I dined with Domville at his lodgings, by invitation; for he goes in a few days for Ireland. Night, dear MD.

25. There is a mighty feast at a Tory sheriff's to-day in the city: twelve hundred dishes of meat.—Above five lords, and several hundred gentlemen, will be there, and give four or five guineas a-piece, according to custom. Dr Coghill and I dined, by invitation, at Mrs Van's. It has rained or mizzled all day, as my pockets feel. There are two new answers come out to the Conduct of the Allies. The last year's Examiners, printed together in a small volume, go off but slowly. The printer overprinted himself by at least a thousand; so soon out of fashion are party papers, however so well writ. The Medleys are coming out in the same volume, and perhaps may sell better. Our news about a cessation of arms begins to flag, and I have not these three days seen any body in business to ask them about it. We had a terrible fire last night in Drury-Lane, or thereabouts, and three or four people destroyed. One of the maids of honour has the small-pox: but the best is, she can lose no beauty; and we have one new handsome maid of honour. Night, MD.

26. I forgot to tell you, that on Sunday last, about seven at night, it lightned above fifty times as I walked the Mall, which I think is extraordinary at this time of the year, and the weather was very hot. Had you any thing of this in Dublin? I intended to dine with lord-treasurer to-day; but Lord Mansel and Mr Lewis made me dine with them at Kit Musgrave's. Now you don't know who Kit Musgrave is. I sate the evening with

Mrs Wesley, who goes to-morrow morning to the Bath. She is much better than she was. The news of the French desiring a cessation of arms, &c. was but town talk. We shall know in a few days, as I am told, whether there will be a peace or not. The Duke of Ormond will go in a week for Flanders, they say. Our Mohocks go on still, and cut people's faces every night, but they shan't cut mine. I like it better as it is. The dogs will cost me at least a crown a-week in chairs. I believe the souls of your houghers of cattle have got into them, and now they don't distinguish between a cow and a Christian. I forgot to wish you yesterday a happy new-year. You know the twenty-fifth of March is the first day of the year, and now you must leave off cards, and put out your fire. I'll put out mine the first of April, cold or not cold. I believe I shall lose credit with you, by not coming over at the beginning of April; but I hoped the session would be ended, and I must stay till then; yet I would fain be at the beginning of my willows growing. Percival tells me, that the quicksets upon the flat in the garden do not grow so well as those famous ones on the ditch. They want digging about them. The cherry trees, by the river side, my heart is set upon.

27. Society day, you know, that's I suppose. Dr Arbuthnett* was president. His dinner was dressed in the queen's kitchen, and was mighty fine. We eat it at Ozinda's chocolate-house, just by St James's. We were never merrier, nor better company, and did not part till after eleven. I did not summon Lord Lansdown: he and I are fallen out. There was something in an Examiner a fortnight

* So spelt by the Dean.

ago, that he thought reflected on the abuses in his office, (he is secretary at war,) and he writ to the secretary, that he heard I had inserted that paragraph. This I resented highly, that he should complain of me before he spoke to me. I sent him a peppering letter, and would not summon him by a note, as I did the rest; nor ever will have any thing to say to him, till he begs my pardon. I met lord-treasurer to-day at Lady Masham's. He would fain have carried me home to-dinner, but I begged his pardon. What! upon a society day! No, no. It is late, sirrahs. I am not drunk.— Night, MD.

28. I was with my friend Lewis to-day, getting materials for a little mischief; and I dined with lord-treasurer, and three or four fellows I never saw before. I left them at seven, and came home, and have been writing to the archbishop of Dublin, and cousin Deane, in answer to one of his of four months old, that I spied by chance, routing among my papers. Domville is going to Ireland; he came here this morning to take leave of me, but I shall dine with him to-morrow. Does the bishop of Clogher talk of coming for England this summer? I think Lord Molesworth told me so about two months ago. The weather is bad again; rainy and very cold this evening. Do you know what the longitude is? A projector has been applying himself to me, to recommend him to the ministry, because he pretends to have found out the longitude. I believe he has no more found it out than he has found out my —. However, I will gravely hear what he says, and discover him a knave or fool.

29. I am plagued with these pains in my shoulder; I believe it is the rheumatic; I will do something for it to-night. Mr Lewis and I dined with Mr Domville, to take our leave of him. I drank

three or four glasses of Champaign by perfect teasing, though it is bad for my pain; but if it continue, I will not drink any wine without water till I am well. The weather is abominably cold and wet. I am got into bed, and have put some old flannel, for want of new, to my shoulder; and rubbed it with Hungary water. It is plaguy hard. I never would drink any wine, if it were not for my head, and drinking has given me this pain. I will try abstemiousness for a while. How does MD do now; how does DD, and Ppt? You must know I hate pain, as the old woman said. But I'll try to go to sleep. My flesh sucks up Hungary water rarely. My man is an awkward rascal, and makes me peevish. Do you know that the other day he was forced to beg my pardon, that he could not shave my head, his hand shook so? He is drunk every day, and I design to turn him off as soon as ever I get to Ireland. I'll write no more now, but go to sleep, and see whether flannel and sleep will cure my shoulder. Night, dearest MD.

30. I was not able to go to church or court to-day. The pain has left my shoulder, and crept to my neck and collar-bone. It makes me think of poor Ppt's blade-bone. Urge, urge, urge; dogs gnawing. I went in a chair at two, and dined with Mrs Van, where I could be easy, and came back at seven. My Hungary water is gone; and to-night use spirits of wine; which my landlady tells me is very good. It has rained terribly hard all day long, and is extremely cold. I am very uneasy, and such cruel twinges every moment! Night, dearest MD.

31. April 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. All these days I have been extremely ill; though I twice crawled out a week ago; but am now recovering, though very weak. The violence of my pain abated the

night before last: I will just tell you how I was, and then send this letter, which ought to have gone Saturday last. The pain increased, with mighty violence in my left shoulder and collar-bone, and that side my neck. On Thursday morning appeared great red spots in all those places where my pain was, and the violence of the pain was confined to my neck, behind or a little on the left side; which was so violent, that I had not a minute's ease, nor hardly a minute's sleep in three days and nights. The spots increased every day, and red little pimples, which are now grown white, and full of corruption, though small. The red still continues too, and most prodigious hot and inflamed. The disease is the shingles. I eat nothing but water-gruel; am very weak; but out of all violent pain. The doctors say it would have ended in some violent disease, if it had not come out thus. I shall now recover fast. I have been in no danger of life, but miserable torture. So adieu, dearest MD, FW, &c. *There*, I can say *there* yet, you see. Faith, I don't conceal a bit, as hope saved.

P. S. I must purge and clyster after this; and my next letter will not be in the old order of journal, till I have done with physic. Are you not surprised to see a letter want half a side?

LETTER XLV.

London, April 24, 1712.

I HAD yours two or three days ago. I can hardly answer it now. Since my last I have been ex-

tremely ill. 'Tis this day just a month since I felt the pain on the tip of my left shoulder, which grew worse, and spread for six days; then broke all out by my collar, and left side of my neck in monstrous red spots inflamed, and these grew to small pimples. For four days I had no rest, nor nights, for a pain in my neck; then I grew a little better; afterward, where my pains were a cruel itching seized me, beyond whatever I could imagine, and kept me awake several nights. I rubbed it vehemently, but did not scratch it: then it grew into three or four great sores like blisters, and run; at last I advised the doctor to use it like a blister, so I did with melilot plasters, which still run: and am now in pain enough, but am daily mending. I kept my chamber a fortnight, then went out a day or two, but confined myself two days ago. I went to a neighbour to dine, but yesterday again kept at home. To-day I will venture abroad, and hope to be well in a week or ten days. I never suffered so much in my life. I have taken my breeches in above two inches, so I am leaner, which answers one question in your letter. The weather is mighty fine. I write in the morning, because I am better then. I will go try to walk a little. I will give DD's certificate to Tooke to-morrow. Farewell, MD, &c.

LETTER XLVI.

London, May 10, 1712.

I HAVE not yet ease or humour enough to go on in my journal method, though I have left my cham-

ber these ten days. My pain continues still in my shoulder and collar: I keep flannel on it, and rub it with brandy, and take a nasty diet drink. I still itch terribly, and have some few pimples: I am weak, and sweat; and then the flannel makes me mad with itching; but I think my pain lessens. A journal, while I was sick, would have been a noble thing, made up of pain and physic, visits, and messages; the two last were almost as troublesome as the two first. One good circumstance is, that I am grown much leaner. I believe I told you that I have taken in my breeches two inches. I had your N. 29 last night. In answer to your good opinion of my disease, the doctors said they never saw any thing so odd of the kind; they were not properly shingles, but *herpes miliaris*, and twenty other hard names. I can never be sick like other people, but always something out of the common way; and as for your notion of its coming without pain, it neither came, nor staid, nor went without pain, and the most pain I ever bore in my life. Medemeris* is retired in the country, with the beast her husband, long ago. I thank the bishop of Clogher for his proxy; I will write to him soon. Here is Dilly's wife in town; but I have not seen her yet. No, simpleton: it is not a sign of health, but a sign, that if it had not come out, some terrible fit of sickness would have followed. I was at our society last Thursday, to receive a new member, the chancellor of the exchequer; but I drink nothing above wine and water. We shall have a peace, I hope, soon, or at least entirely broke; but I believe the first. My letter to lord-treasurer, about the English tongue, is now printing; and I

* Madam Ayris.

suffer my name to be put at the end of it, which I never did before in my life. The Appendix to the Third Part of John Bull was published yesterday; it is equal to the rest. I hope you read John Bull. It was a Scotch gentleman, a friend of mine, that writ it; but they put it upon me. The parliament will hardly be up till June. We were like to be undone some days ago with a tack; * but we carried it bravely, and the Whigs came in to help us. Poor Lady Masham, I am afraid, will lose her only son, about a twelvemonth old, with the king's evil. I never would let Mrs Fenton see me during my illness, though she often came; but she has been once since I recovered. Bernage has been twice to see me of late. His regiment will be broke, and he only upon half-pay; so perhaps he thinks he will want me again. I am told here the bishop of Clogher and family are coming over; but he says nothing of it himself. I have been returning the visits of those that sent *howdees* in my sickness; particularly the Duchess of Hamilton, who came and sat with me two hours. I make bargains with all people that I dine with, to let me scrub my back against a chair; and the Duchess of Ormond was forced to bear it the other day. Many of my friends are gone to Kensington, where the queen has been removed for some time. This is a long letter for a sick body. I will begin the next in the journal way, though my journals will be sorry ones. My left hand is very weak, and trembles; but my right side has not been touched.

* A tack is a bill tacked to a money bill, that as both must be passed or rejected together, the tacked bill may pass, because the money bill must.

This is a pitiful letter
For want of a better ;
But plagued with a tetter,
My fancy does fetter.

Ah! my poor willows and quicksets! Well, but you must read John Bull: Do you understand it all? Did I tell you that young parson Gery is going to be married, and asked my advice when it was too late to break off? He tells me Elwick has purchased forty pounds a-year in land adjoining to his living. Ppt does not say one word of her own little health. I am angry almost; but I won't, because she is a good girl in other things. Yes, and so is DD too. God bless MD, and FW, and Me, and Pdfr too. Farewell, MD, MD, MD, Lele. I can say lele yet, young women; yes I can, well as you.

LETTER XLVII.

London, May 31, 1712.

I CANNOT yet arrive to my journal letters, my pains continuing still, though with less violence; but I don't love to write journals while I am in pain; and above all, not journals to MD. But however, I am so much mended, that I intend my next shall be in the old way; and yet I shall, perhaps, break my resolution when I feel pain. I believe I have lost credit with you, in relation to my coming over; but I protest it is impossible for one, who has any thing to do with this ministry, to be certain when

he fixes any time. There is a business, which, till it take some turn or other, I cannot leave this place in prudence or honour. And I never wished so much as now, that I had staid in Ireland; but the die is cast, and is now a spinning, and till it settles, I cannot tell whether it be an ace or a sise. The moment I am used ill, I will leave them; but know not how to do it while things are in suspence.—The session will soon be over (I believe in a fortnight) and the peace, we hope, will be made in a short time; and there will be no farther occasion for me; nor have I any thing to trust to but court gratitude; so that I expect to see my willows a month after the parliament is up: but I will take MD in my way, and not go to Laracor like an unmannerly spreenckish fellow. Have you seen my letter to lord-treasurer? There are two answers come out to it already; though it is no politics, but a harmless proposal about the improvement of the English Tongue. I believe if I writ an essay upon a straw, some fool would answer it. About ten days hence I expect a letter from MD, N. 30.—You are now writing it, near the end, as I guess.—I have not received DD's money; but I will give you a note for it on Parvisol, and beg your pardon I have not done it before. I am just now thinking to go lodge at Kensington, for the air. Lady Masham has teased me to do it, but business has hindered me; but now lord-treasurer has removed thither. Fifteen of our society dined together under a canopy in an arbour at Parson's Green last Thursday; I never saw any thing so fine and romantic. We got a great victory last Wednesday in the House of Lords by a majority, I think of twenty-eight; and the Whigs had desired their friends to bespeak places to see lord-treasurer carried to the Tower. I met your Higgins here yester-

day ; he roars at the insolence of the Whigs in Ireland, talks much of his own sufferings and expenses in asserting the cause of the church ; and I find he would fain plead merit enough to desire that his fortune should be mended. * I believe he designs to make as much noise as he can, in order to preferment. Pray let the provost, when he sees you, give you ten English shillings : and I will give as much here to the man who delivered me Rymer's books : he knows the meaning. Tell him, I will not trust him, but that you can order it to be paid me here ; and I will trust you till I see you. Have I told you that the rogue Patrick has left me these two months, to my great satisfaction ? I have got another, who seems to be much better, if he continues it. I am printing a threepenny pamphlet, † and shall print another in a fortnight, and then I have done, unless some new occasion starts. Is my curate Warburton married to Mrs Meithrop in my parish ? so I hear. Or is it a lie ? Has Raymond got to his new house ? Do you see Joe now and then ? What luck have you at ombre ? How stands it with the dean ? ***** My service to Mrs Stoyte, and Catherine, if she be come from Wales. I have not yet seen Dilly Ashe's wife. I called once, but she was not at home : I think she is under the doctor's hand. ***** I believe the news of the Duke of Ormond producing letters in the council of war, with orders not to fight, will surprise you in Ireland. Lord-treasurer said in the House of Lords, that in a few days the treaty of peace should be laid before

* In his debates with Lord Santry, who endeavoured to get him turned out of the commission of the peace.

† " Some Reasons to prove that no person is obliged, by his principles as a Whig, to oppose her Majesty in the present Ministry."

them ; and our court thought it wrong to hazard a battle, and sacrifice many lives in such a juncture.* If the peace holds, all will do well, otherwise I know not how we shall weather it. And it was reckoned as a wrong step in politics, for lord-treasurer to open himself so much. The secretary would not go so far to satisfy the Whigs in the House of Commons ; but there all went swimmingly. I'll say no more to you to-night, sirrahs, because I must send away the letter, not by the bell, but early : and besides, I have not much more to say at this present writing. Does MD never read at all now, pray? But you walk prodigiously, I suppose.—You make nothing of walking to, to, to, ay, to Donybrook. I walk as much as I can, because sweating is good ; but I'll walk more, if I go to Kensington. I suppose I shall have no apples this year neither. So I dined the other day with Lord Rivers, who is sick at his country house, and he shewed me all his cherries blasted. Night, dearest sirrahs ; farewell, dearest lives, love poor Pdfr. Farewell, dearest little MD, MD, MD, FW, FW, FW, Me, Me, Lele, Me, Lele, Lele, little MD.

* The Duke of Ormond's private instructions were not to hazard a battle, or undertake a siege, as the negotiation was in such a prosperous train. He was compelled, in justice to his own character, to make his orders known to the council of war, when an attack was proposed on the camp of Marshal Villars.

LETTER XLVIII.

Kensington, June 17, 1712.

I HAVE been so tosticated about since my last, that I could not go on in my journal manner. though my shoulder is a great deal better ; however, I feel violent pain in it, but I think it diminishes, and I have cut off some slices from my flannel. I have lodged here near a fortnight, partly for the air and exercise, partly to be near the court, where dinners are to be found. I generally get a lift in a coach to town, and in the evening I walk back. On Saturday I dined with the Duchess of Ormond at her lodge near Sheen, and thought to get a boat as usual. I walked by the bank to Kew, but no boat ; then to Mortlake, but no boat ; and it was nine o'clock. At last a little sculler called, full of nasty people. I made him set me down at Hammersmith, so walked two miles to this place, and got here by eleven. Last night I had another such difficulty. I was in the city till past ten at night ; it rained hard, but no coach to be had. It gave over a little, and I walked all the way here, and got home by twelve. I love these shabby difficulties when they are over ; but I hate them, because they arise from not having a thousand pounds a-year. I had your N. 30 about three days ago, which I will now answer. And first I did not relapse, but I came out before I ought ; and so, and so, as I have told you in some of my last. The first *coming* abroad, the first going abroad made people think I was quite recovered, and I had no more messages afterward. Well, but John Bull is not wrote by the person you imagine. It is too good for another to own. Had

it been Grub-street, I would have let people think as they please ; and I think that's right : is not it now ? so flap your hand, and make wry mouths yourself, saucy doxy. Now comes DD. Why sirrahs, I did write in a fortnight my 47th ; and if it did not come in due time, can I help wind and weather ? am I a Laplander ? am I a witch ? can I work miracles ? can I make easterly winds ? Now I am against Dr Smith. I drink little water with my wine, yet I believe he is right. Yet Dr Cockburn told me a little wine would not hurt me ; but it is so hot and dry, and water is so dangerous. The worst thing here is my evenings at Lord Masham's, where lord-treasurer comes, and we sit till after twelve. But it is convenient I should be among them for a while as much as possible. I need not tell you why. But I hope that will be at an end in a month or two, one way or other, and I am resolved it shall ; but I can't go to Tunbridge, or any where else out of the way, in this juncture. So Ppt designs for Templeoag (what a name is that !) Whereabouts is that place ? I hope not very far from —. Higgins is here, roaring that all is wrong in Ireland, and would have me get him an audience of lord-treasurer to tell him so ; but I will have nothing to do in it, no not I, faith. We have had no thunder till last night, and till then we were dead for want of rain ; but there fell a great deal : no field looked green. ~~They~~ reckon the queen will go to Windsor in three or four weeks : and if the secretary takes a house there, I shall be sometimes with him. But how affectedly Ppt talks of my being here all the summer ; which I do not intend : nor to stay one minute longer in England than becomes the circumstances I am in. I wish you would go soon into the country, and take a good deal of it ; and where better than Trim ? Joe will be your humble servant,

Parvisol your slave, and Raymond at your command, for he piques himself on good manners. I have seen Dilly's wife—and I have seen once or twice old Bradley here. He is very well, very old, and very wise : I believe I must go see his wife, when I have leisure. I should be glad to see goody Stoyte and her husband ; pray give them my humble service, and to Catherine, and to Mrs Walls.—I cannot be the least bit in love with Mrs Walls.—I suppose the cares of the husband increase with the fruitfulness of the wife. I am glad at heart to hear of Ppt's good health : please to let her finish it by drinking waters. I hope DD had her bill, and has her money. Remember to write a due time before the money is wanted, and be good girls, good *dallars*, I mean, and no crying *dallars*. I heard somebody coming up stairs, and forgot I was in the country ; and I was afraid of a visitor ; that is one advantage of being here, that I am not teased with solicitors. Molt the chemist is my acquaintance. My service to Dr Smith. I sent the question to him about Sir Walter Raleigh's cordial, and the answer he returned is in these words : " It is directly after Mr Boyle's receipt." That commission is performed ; if he wants any of it, Molt shall use him fairly. I suppose Smith is one of your physicians. So, now your letter is fully and impartially answered ; not as rascals answer me : I believe if I writ an essay upon a straw, I should have a shoal of answerers : but no matter for that ; you see I can answer without making any reflections, as becomes men of learning. Well but now for the peace : why we expect it daily ; but the French have the stuff in their own hands, and we trust to their honesty. I wish it were otherwise. Things are now in the way of being soon in the extremes of well or ill.—I hope and believe the first. Lord Wharton is gone

out of town in a rage, and curses himself and friends for ruining themselves in defending Lord Marlborough and Godolphin, and taking Nottingham into their favour. He swears he will meddle no more during this reign; a pretty speech at sixty-six, and the queen is near twenty years younger, and now in very good health; for you must know her health is fixed by a certain reason, that she has done with braces (I must use the expression) and nothing ill is happened to her since; so she has a new lease of her life. Read *The Letter to a Whig Lord*. Do you ever read? Why don't you say so? I mean, does DD read to Ppt? Do you walk? I think Ppt should walk to DD, as DD reads to Ppt, for Ppt you must know is a good walker; but not so good as Pdfr. I intend to dine to-day with Mr Lewis: but it threatens rain; and I shall be too late to get a lift; and I must write to the bishop of Clogher. It is now ten in the morning; and this is all writ at a heat. Farewell, dearest MD, FW, Me, &c.

LETTER XLIX.

Kensington, July 1, 1712.

I NEVER was in a worse station for writing letters than this; for I go to town early; and when I come home at night, I generally go to Lord Masham's, where lord-treasurer comes, and we stay till past twelve, but I am now resolved to write journals again, though my shoulder is not yet well; for I have still a few itching pimples, and a little pain

now and then. It is now high cherry time with us ; take notice, is it so soon with you ? And we have early apricots ; and gooseberries are ripe. On Sunday archdeacon Parnel * came here to see me. It seems he has been ill for grief of his wife's death, and has been two months at Bath. He has a mind to go to Dunkirk with Jack Hill, and I persuade him to it, and have spoke to Hill to receive him ; but I doubt he won't have spirit to go. I have made Ford † gazetteer, and got two hundred pounds a-year settled on the employment by the secretaries of state, beside the perquisites. It is the prettiest employment in England of its bigness ; yet the puppy does not seem satisfied with it. I think people keep some follies to themselves, till they have occasion to produce them. He thinks it not genteel enough, and makes twenty difficulties. It is impossible to make any man easy. His salary is paid him every week, if he pleases, without taxes or abatements. He has little to do for it. He has a pretty office, with coals, candles, papers, &c. ; can frank what letters he will ; and his perquisites, if he takes care, may be worth one hundred pounds more. I hear the bishop of Clogher is landing, or landed, in England ; and I hope to see him in a few days. I was to see Mrs Bradley on Sunday night. Her youngest son is to marry somebody worth nothing, and her daughter was forced to leave Lady Giffard, because she was striking up an intrigue with a footman, who played well on the flute. This is the mother's account of it. Yesterday the

* This amiable man, and elegant poet, was at this time archdeacon of Clogher, to which he was preferred by the bishop, so often mentioned in the course of this journal.

† Charles Ford, Esq. a great friend of the dean.

old bishop of Worcester, who pretends to be a prophet, went to the queen, by appointment, to prove to her majesty, out of Daniel and the Revelation, that four years hence there would be a war of religion; that the king of France would be a Protestant, and fight on their side; that the popedom would be destroyed, &c.; and declared, that he would be content to give up his bishopric if it were not true.* Lord-treasurer, who told it me, was by, and some others; and I am told lord-treasurer confounded him sadly in his own learning, which made the old fool very quarrelsome. He is

* Dr William Lloyd, bishop of Worcester, was a man of great learning, and author of a "History of the Government of the Church," a "Chronological Account of the Life of Pythagoras," and many tracts against Popery. For Popery, indeed, he had an ancient and irreconcilable hatred and terror; having preached that funeral sermon upon the death of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, two able-bodied divines attending as a guard to his person in the pulpit, lest before all the congregation he should be murdered by the Papists. His chronological studies led him to write a commentary on the Revelation, the result of which, and perhaps some confidence in the force of his own controversial tracts, led him, it seems, to hope for the conversion of the king of France from the errors of Rome. The bishop is thus described in a poem called "Faction Displayed:"

"Then old Mysterio shook his silver hairs,
Loaded with learning, prophecy, and years,
Whom factious zeal to fierce unchristian strife
Had hurried in the last extreme of life.
Strange dotage! thus to sacrifice his ease,
When nature whispers men to crown their days
With sweet retirement, and religious peace!
Fore-knowledge struggled in his heaving breast,
Ere he in these dark terms his fears exprest.
The stars roll adverse, and malignant shine,
Some dire portent! some comet I divine!
I plainly in the Revelations find,
That Anna to the Beast will be inclined.
How'er, though she and all her senate frown,
I'll wage eternal war with Packington,
And venture life and fame to pull him down.

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near ninety years old. * Old Bradley is fat and lusty, and has lost his palsy. Have you seen Toland's invitation to Dismal? How do you like it? But it is in imitation of Horace, and perhaps you do not understand Horace. Here has been a great sweep of employments, and we expect still more removals. The court seems resolved to make thorough work. Mr Hill intended to set out to-morrow for Dunkirk, of which he is appointed governor; but he tells me to-day that he cannot go till Thursday or Friday. I wish it were over. Mr Secretary tells me, he is in no fear at all that France will play tricks with us. If we have Dunkirk once, all is safe. We rail now all against the Dutch, who indeed have acted like knaves, fools, and madmen. Mr Secretary is soon to be made a viscount. He desired I would draw the preamble of his patent; but I excused myself from a work that might lose me a great deal of reputation, and get me very little. We would fain have the court make him an earl, but it will not be; and therefore he will not take the title of Bolingbroke, which is lately extinct in the elder branch of his family. I have advised him to be called Lord Pomfret; but he thinks that title is already in some other family; and, besides, he objects that it is in Yorkshire, where he has no estate; but there is nothing in that, and I love Pomfret. Don't you love Pomfret? Why? 'Tis in all our histories; they are full of Pomfret castle. But what's all this to you? You don't care for this? Is goody Stoyte come to London? I have not heard of her yet. The dean of St Pa-

* The Earl of Nottingham. Old as he was, he outlived the space he had fixed for the great events which he foretold, and died at the age of ninety-one, in 1717.

trick's never had the manners to answer my letter. I was the other day to see Sterne and his wife. She is not half so handsome as when I saw her with you at Dublin. They design to pass the summer at a house near Lord Somers's, about a dozen miles off. You never told me how my "Letter to Lord-Treasurer" passes in Ireland. I suppose you are drinking at this time Temple something waters. Steele was arrested the other day for making a lottery, directly against an act of parliament. He is now under prosecution; but they think it will be dropped out of pity. I believe he will very soon lose his employment, for he has been mighty impertinent of late in his Spectators; and I will never offer a word in his behalf. Raymond writes me word, that the bishop of Meath* was going to summon me, in order to suspension, for absence, if the provost had not prevented him. I am prettily rewarded for getting them their first-fruits with a p—. We have had very little hot weather during the whole month of June; and for a week past we have had a great deal of rain, though not every day. I am just now told, that the governor of Dunkirk has not orders yet to deliver up the town to Jack Hill and his forces, but expects them daily. This must put off Hill's journey a while, and I don't like these stoppings in such an affair. Go, get you gone, and drink your waters, if this rain has not spoiled them, saucy doxy. I have no more to say to you at present; but love Pdfr, and MD, and Me. And Pdfr will love Pdfr, and MD, and Me. I wish you had taken an account when I sent money to Mrs Brent. I believe I have not done it a great while. Farewell, dearest MD, FW, Me, &c.

* Dr William Moreton, 1705---1715.

LETTER L.

Kensington, July 17, 1712.

I AM weary of living in this place, and glad to leave it soon. The queen goes on Tuesday to Windsor, and I shall follow in three or four days after. I can do nothing here, going early to London, and coming late from it, and supping at Lady Masham's. I dined to-day with the Duke of Argyle at Kew, and would not go to the court to-night, because of writing to MD. The bishop of Clogher has been here this fortnight: I see him as often as I can. Poor master Ashe has a bad redness in his face, it is St Anthony's fire; his face all swelled, and will break out in his cheek, but no danger. Since Dunkirk has been in our hands, Grub-street has been very fruitful. Pdfr has writ five or six Grub-street papers this last week. Have you seen "Toland's Invitation to *Dismal*," or "Hue and Cry after *Dismal*," or "Ballad on Dunkirk," or "Agreement that *Dunkirk* is not in our Hands?" Poh! You have seen nothing. I am dead here with the hot weather; yet I walk every night home, and believe it does me good: but my shoulder is not yet right; itchings and scratchings, and small achings. Did I tell you I have made Ford gazetteer, with two hundred pounds a-year salary, beside perquisites. I had a letter lately from Parvisol, who says my canal looks very finely; I long to see it; but no apples; all blasted again. He tells me there will be a septennial visitation in August. I must send Raymond another proxy. So now I will answer

yóur letter, No. 30, date June 17. Ppt writes as well as ever, for all her waters. I wish I had never come here, as often and as heartily as Ppt. What had I to do here? I can assure you the bishop of Clogher's being here does not in the least affect my staying or going. I have heard of the bishop's making me uneasy, but I did not think it was, because I never wrote to him. A little would make me write to him, but I don't know what to say. I find I am obliged to the provost for keeping the bishop from being impertinent. Yes, Mrs DD, but you would not be content with letters from Pdfr of six lines, or twelve either, faith. I hope Ppt will have done with the waters soon, and find benefit by them. I believe, if they were as far off as Wexford, they would do as much good; for I take the journey to contribute as much as any thing. I can assure you, the bishop of Clogher's being here does not in the least affect my staying or going. I never talked to Higgins but once in my life in the street, and I believe he and I shall hardly meet but by chance. What care I whether my Letter to Lord Treasurer be commended there or not? Why does not somebody among you answer it, as three or four have done here? (I am now sitting with nothing but my bedgown, for heat.) Ppt shall have a great Bible, and DD shall be repaid her other book; but patience; all in good time: you are so hasty, a dog, would, &c. So Ppt has neither won nor lost. Why, mun, I play sometimes too at picket; that is picquett, I mean; but very seldom.—Out late? why, it is only at Lady Masham's, and that is in our town; but I never come late here from London, except once in rain, when I could not get a coach. We have had very little thunder here; none these two months. Why, pray, madam philosopher, how did the rain hinder the

thunder from doing any harm? I suppose it *squench-*
ed it. So here comes Ppt again with her little
 watery postscript. You bold drunken slut you!
 drink Pdfr's health ten times in a morning! you
 are a whetter, faith. I sup MD's fifteen times
 every morning in milk porridge. There's for you
 now—and there's for your letter, and every kind of
 thing—and now I must say something else. You
 hear secretary St John is made Viscount Boling-
 broke. I could hardly persuade him to take that
 title, because the eldest branch of his family had it
 in an earldom, and it was last year extinct. If he
 did not take it, I advised him to be Lord Pomfret,
 which I think is a noble title. You hear of it often
 in the chronicles, Pomfret Castle: but we believed
 it was among the titles of some other lord. Jack
 Hill sent his sister a pattern of a head-dress from
 Dunkirk; it was like our fashion twenty years ago,
 only not quite so high, * and looks very ugly. I
 have made Trap chaplain to Lord Bolingbroke, and
 he is mighty happy and thankful for it. Mr Addi-
 son returned me my visit this morning. He lives
 in our town. I shall be mighty retired, and mighty
 busy for a while at Windsor. Pray why don't MD
 go to Trim, and see Laracor, and give me an ac-

* The SPECTATOR, about this time, has the same remarks on
 the old head-dress, which was called a *Fontange*.

“There is not so variable a thing in nature as a lady's head-
 dress. Within my own memory, I have known it rise and fall above
 thirty degrees. About ten years ago it shot up to a very great
 height, insomuch, that the female part of our species were much
 taller than the men. The women were of such an enormous sta-
 ture, that we appeared as grasshoppers before them. At present
 the whole sex is in a manner dwarfed, and shrunk into a race of
 beauties that seems almost another species. I remember several
 ladies who were once very near seven foot high, that at present
 want some inches of five.”---*Spectator*, No. 98.

count of the garden, and the river, and the holly and the cherry trees on the river walk?

19. I could not send this letter last post, being called away before I could finish it. I dined yesterday with lord treasurer; sat with him till ten at night: yet could not find a minute for some business I had with him. He brought me to Kensington. and Lord Bolingbroke would not let me go away till two; and I am now in bed very lazy and sleepy at nine. I must shave head and face, and meet Lord Bolingbroke at eleven, and dine again with lord-treasurer. To-day there will be another *Grub*, "*A Letter from the Pretender to a Whig Lord.*"* *Grub-street* has but ten days to live; then an act of parliament takes place that ruins it, by taxing every half sheet at a halfpenny. We have news just come, but not the particulars, that the Earl of Albemarle, at the head of eight thousand Dutch, is beaten, lost the greatest part of his men, and himself made a prisoner. † This perhaps may cool their courage, and make them think of a peace. The Duke of Ormond has got abundance of credit by his good conduct of affairs in Flanders. We had a good deal of rain last night, very refreshing. It is late, and I must rise. Don't play at ombre in your waters, sirrah. Farewell, dearest MD.

* "Some Reasons to prove that no Person is obliged by his Principles, as a Whig, to oppose her Majesty or the present Ministry. In a Letter to a Whig Lord."

† The confederates were much weakened by the separation of the British forces, who went under the Duke of Ormond to take possession of Dunkirk. Marshal Villars attacked their camp at Denain, defeated them with slaughter, and made the Earl of Albemarle and many officers of distinction prisoners.

LETTER LI.

London, Aug. 7 *, 1712.

I RECEIVED your N. 32, at Windsor: I just read it, and immediately sealed it up again, and shall read it no more this twelvemonth at least. The reason of my resentment is, because you talk as glibly of a thing as if it were done, which, for aught I know, is farther from being done than ever, since I hear not a word of it, though the town is full of it, and the court always giving me joy and vexation. You might be sure I would have let you know as soon as it was done; but I believe you fancied I would not affect to tell it you, but let you learn it from newspapers and reports. Remember only there was something in your letter about Me's money; and that shall be taken care of. I left Windsor on Monday last, upon Lord Bolingbroke's being gone to France; and somebody's being here that I ought often to consult with in an affair I am upon: but that person talks of returning to Windsor again, and I shall follow him. I am now in a hedge lodging very busy, as I am every day till noon: so that this letter is like to be short, and you are not to blame me these two months; for I protest, if I study ever so hard, I cannot in that time compass what I am upon. We have a fever both here and at Windsor, which hardly

* At first written "Aug. 17," with this note, "*Pedefar* was mistaken."

any body misses ; but it lasts not above three or four days, and kills nobody. The queen has forty servants down in it at once. I dined yesterday with lord-treasurer, but could do no business, though he sent for me, I thought on purpose ; but he desires I will dine with him again to-day. Windsor is a most delightful place, and in this time abounds in dinners. My lodgings look upon Eton and the Thames. I wish I was owner of them ; they belong to a prebend. God knows what was in your letter ; and if it be not answered, whose fault is it, saucy dallars. Do you know that Grub-street is dead and gone last week ? No more ghosts or murders now for love or money. I plied it pretty close the last fortnight, and published at least seven penny papers of my own, besides some of other people's : but now every single half sheet pays a halfpenny to the queen. The Observator is fallen ; the Medleys are jumbled together with the Flying Post ; the Examiner is deadly sick ; the Spectator keeps up, and doubles its price ; I know not how long it will hold. Have you seen the red stamp the papers are marked with ? Methinks the stamping it is worth a halfpenny. Lord Bolingbroke and Prior set out for France last Saturday. My lord's business is to hasten the peace before the Dutch are too much mauled, and hinder France from carrying the jest of beating them too far. Have you seen the fourth part of John Bull ? It is equal to the rest, and extremely good. The bishop of Clogher's son has been ill of St Anthony's fire, but is now quite well. I was afraid his face would be spoiled, but it is not. Dilly is just as he used to be, and puns as plentifully and as bad. The two brothers see one another ; and I think not the two sisters. Raymond wrote to me, that he intended to invite you to Trim. Are you, have you, will you be

there? Won't you see poor Laracor? Parvisol says I shall have no fruit. Blasts have taken away all. Pray observe the cherry trees in the river walk; but you are too lazy to take such a journey. If you have not your letters in due time for two months hence, impute it to my being tosticated between this and Windsor. Poor Lord Winchelsea is dead, to my great grief. He was a worthy honest gentleman, and particular friend of mine: and what is yet worse, my old acquaintance, Mrs Finch, is now Countess of Winchelsea, the title being fallen to her husband, but without much estate. I have been poring my eyes all this morning, and it is now past two afternoon, so I shall take a little walk in the Park. Do you play at ombre still? Or is that off by Mr Stoyte's absence, and Mrs Manley's grief? Somebody was telling me of a strange sister that Mrs Manley has got in Ireland, who disappointed you all about her being handsome. My service to Mrs Walls. Farewell, dearest MD, FW, Me. Lele, rogues both; love poor Pdfr.

LETTER LII.

Windsor, Sept. 15, 1712.*

I NEVER was so long without writing to MD as now, since I left them, nor ever will again, while I am able to write. I have expected from one week to another that something would be done in my

* Endorsed, "Received Oct. 1, at Portraine."

own affairs; but nothing at all is, nor I don't know when any thing will, or whether any at all, so slow are people at doing favours. I have been much out of order of late, with the old giddiness in my head. I took a vomit for it two days ago, and will take another about a day or two hence. I have eat mighty little fruit; yet I impute my disorder to that little, and shall henceforth wholly forbear it. I am engaged in a long work, and have done all I can of it, and wait for some papers from the ministry for materials for the rest; and they delay me, as if it were a favour I asked of them; so that I have been idle here this good while, and it happened in a right time, when I was too much out of order to study. One is kept constantly out of humour by a thousand unaccountable things in public proceedings; and when I reason with some friends, we cannot conceive how affairs can last as they are. God only knows, but it is a very melancholy subject for those who have any near concern in it. I am again endeavouring, as I was last year, to keep people from breaking to pieces upon a hundred misunderstandings. One cannot withhold them from drawing different ways, while the enemy is watching to destroy both. See how my style is altered, by living and thinking and talking among these people, instead of my canal and river, walk and willows. I lose all my money here among the ladies; so that I never play when I can help it, being sure to lose. I have lost five pounds the five weeks I have been here. I hope Ppt is luckier at piquet with the dean and Mrs Walls. The dean never answered my letter, and I have clearly forgot whether I sent a bill for Me in any of my last letters. I think I did; pray let me know, and always give me timely notice. I wait here but to see what they will do for me; and whenever preferments are given from me, as *** said, I will come over.

18. I have taken a vomit to-day, and hope I shall be better. I have been very giddy since I wrote what is before, yet not as I used to be: more frequent, but not so violent. Yesterday we were alarmed with the queen's being ill: she had an aguish and feverish fit; and you never saw such countenances as we all had, such dismal melancholy. Her physicians from town were sent for; but to-ward night she grew better, to-day she missed her fit, and was up: we are not now in any fear; it will be at worst but an ague, and we hope even that will not return. Lord treasurer would not come here from London, because it would make a noise, if he came before his usual time, which is Saturday, and he goes away on Mondays. The Whigs have lost a great support in the Earl of Godolphin.* It is a good jest to hear the ministers talk of him with humanity and pity, because he is dead, and can do them no more hurt. Lady Orkney, † the late king's mistress (who lives at a fine place, five miles from hence, called Cliffden) and I, are grown mighty acquaintance. She is the wisest woman I ever saw; and lord-treasurer made great use of her advice in the late change of affairs. I heard Lord-Marlbrough is growing ill of his *diabetes*; which, if it be true, may soon carry him off; and then the ministry will be something more at ease. MD has been a long time without writing to Pdfr, though they have not the same cause: it

* He died, September 15, 1712.

† Lady Elizabeth Villiers. on whom King William settled an estate in Ireland, worth 25,995l. a year. Archbishop King, in a letter to Swift, (which, like many others, probably was not very acceptable,) hints his hopes, that this donation might be recalled.

is seven weeks since your last came to my hands, which was N. 32, that you may not be mistaken. I hope Ppt has not wanted her health. You were then drinking waters. The doctor tells me I must go into a course of *steel*, though I have not the spleen; for that they can never give me, though I have as much provocation to it as any man alive. Bernage's regiment is broke; but he is upon half-pay. I have not seen him this long time; but I suppose he is overrun with melancholy. My Lord Shrewsbury is certainly designed to be governor of Ireland; and, I believe, the Duchess will please the people there mightily. The Irish Whig leaders promise great things to themselves from this government: but great care shall be taken, if possible, to prevent them. Mrs Fenton has writ to me, that she has been forced to leave Lady Giffard, and come to town, for a rheumatism: that lady does not love to be troubled with sick people. Mrs Fenton writes to me as one dying; and desires I would think of her son: I have not answered her letter. She is retired to Mrs Povey's. Is my aunt alive yet; and do you ever see her? I suppose she has forgot the loss of her son. Is Raymond's new house quite finished? and does he squander as he used to do? Has he yet spent all his wife's fortune? I hear there are five or six people putting strongly in for my livings; God help them! But if ever the court should give me any thing, I would recommend Raymond to the Duke of Ormond; not for any particular friendship to him, but because it would be proper for the minister of Trim to have Laracor. You may keep the gold studded snuff-box now; for my brother Hill, governor of Dunkirk, has sent me the finest that ever you saw. It is allowed at court that none in England comes near it, though

it did not cost above twenty pounds. * And the Duchess of Hamilton has made me a pocket for it, like a woman's, with a belt and buckle (for, you know, I wear no waistcoat in summer) and there are several divisions, and one on purpose for my box, oh, ho!—We have had most delightful weather this whole week; but illness and vomiting have hindered me from sharing in a great part of it. Lady Masham made the queen send to Kensington for some of her preserved ginger for me, which I take in the morning, and hope it will do me good. Mrs Brent sent me a letter by a young fellow, a printer, desiring I would recommend him here, which you may tell her I have done: but I cannot promise what will come of it, for it is necessary they should be made free here before they can be employed. I remember I put the boy apprentice to Brent. I hope Parvisol has set my tithes well this year; he has writ nothing to me about it; pray talk to him of it when you see him, and let him give me an account how things are. I suppose the corn is now off the ground. I hope he has sold that great ugly horse. Why don't you talk to him? He keeps me at charges for horses, that I never ride: yours is large, and

* See Swift's letter of thanks, dated 12th August, 1712, which has the following jest upon the device at the bottom of the box:—“My lord-treasurer, who is the most malicious person in the world, says, you ordered a goose to be drawn at the bottom of my box, as a reflection upon the clergy, and that I should resent it. But I am not angry at all, and as his lordship observes by halves; for the goose there is drawn pecking at a snail, just as I do at him, to make him mend his pace in relation to the public, although it be hitherto in vain. And besides, Dr Arbuthnot, who is a scholar, says, ‘you meant it as a compliment for us both: that I am the goose who saved the capitol by my cackling; and that his lordship is represented by the snail, because he preserves his country by delays.’”

will never be good for any thing. The queen will stay here about a month longer, I suppose ; but Lady Masham will go in ten days to lie in at Kensington. Poor creature, she fell down in the court here the other day. She would needs walk across it upon some displeasure with her chairmen, and was likely to be spoiled, so near her time ; but we hope all is over for a black eve and a sore side ; though I shall not be at ease till she is brought to bed. I find I can fill up a letter, some way or other, without a journal. If I had not a spirit naturally cheerful, I should be very much discontented at a thousand things. Pray God preserve MD's health, and Pdfr's, and that I may live free from the envy and discontent, that attends those who are thought to have more favour at court than they really possess. Love Pdfr, who loves MD above all things. Farewell, dearest, ten thousand times dearest MD, FW, Me. Lele.

LETTER LIII.

London, Oct. 9, 1712. *

I HAVE left Windsor these ten days, and am deep in pills with asafœtida, and a steel bitter drink ; and I find my head much better than it was. I was very much discouraged ; for I used to be ill for three or four days together, ready to totter as I

* Endorsed, "Received Oct. 18, at Portraîne."

I walked. I take eight pills a day, and have taken, I believe, a hundred and fifty already. The queen, lord-treasurer, Lady Masham, and I, were all ill together, but are now all better; only Lady Masham expects every day to lie in at Kensington. There never was such a lump of lies spread about the town together as now. I doubt not but you will have them in Dublin before this comes to you, and all without the least ground of truth. I have been mightily put back in something I am writing by my illness, but hope to fetch it up, so as to be ready when the parliament meets. Lord-treasurer has had an ugly fit of the rheumatism, but is now near quite well. I was playing at *one-and-thirty* with him and his family the other night. He gave us all twelve-pence apiece to begin with: it put me in mind of Sir William Temple.* I asked both him and Lady Masham seriously, whether the queen were at all inclined to a dropsy? And they positively assured me she was not: so did her physician Arbuthnot, who always attends her. Yet these devils have spread, that she has holes in her legs, and runs at her navel, and I know not what. Arbuthnot has sent me from Windsor a pretty Discourse upon Lying, and I have ordered the printer to come for it. It is a proposal for publishing a curious piece, called, *The Art of Political Lying*, in two volumes, &c. And then there is an abstract of the first volume, just like those pamphlets which they call "*The Works of the Learned.*"† Pray get it when it comes out. The queen has a little

* Sir William Temple's stingy patronage seems to have justified this sarcasm.

† Reviews of publications were published under this title.

of the gout in one of her hands. I believe she will stay a month still at Windsor. Lord-treasurer showed me the kindest letter from her in the world, by which I picked out one secret, that there will be soon made some knights of the garter. You know another is fallen by Lord Godolphin's death: he will be buried in a day or two at Westminster Abbey. 'I saw Tom Leigh in town once. The bishop of Clogher has taken his lodging for the winter; they are all well. I hear there are in town abundance of people from Ireland; half a dozen Bishops at least. The poor old Bishop of London,* at past fourscore, fell down backward going up stairs, and I think broke or cracked his skull; yet is now recovering. The town is as empty as at midsummer; and if I had not occasion for physic, I would be at Windsor still. Did I tell you of Lord Rivers's will; he has left legacies to about twenty paltry old whores by name, and not a farthing to any friend, dependent, or relation: he has left from his only child, Lady Barrymore, † her mother's estate, and given the whole to his heir male, a popish priest, a second cousin, who is now Earl Rivers, ‡ and whom he used in his life like a footman. After him it goes to his chief wench and

Dr Henry Compton, translated to that see from the bishopric of Oxford, in 1675. He had been a soldier for Charles I. in his youth, and at the time of the Revolution reassumed the sword, and took command of the troop of volunteers that escorted the Princess Anne to Nottingham.

† Lady Elizabeth, married to James, the fourth Earl of Barrymore. She had one daughter, Lady Penelope, who was married to General Cholmondeley.

‡ William Savage, son of Richard, third son of the first Earl of that name. Being a popish priest, he died unmarried, and the title became extinct.

bastard. Lord-treasurer and Lord Chamberlain are executors of this hopefull will. I loved the man, but detest his memory. We hear nothing of peace yet: I believe verily the Dutch are so wilful, because they are told the queen cannot live. I had poor MD's letter, N. 32, at Windsor: but I could not answer it then; Pdfr was very sick then: and, besides, it was a very inconvenient place to write letters from. You "thought to come home the same day, and staid a month:" that was a sign the place was agreeable. I should love such a sort of jaunt. Is that lad Swanton a little more fixed than he used to be? I think you like the girl very well. She has left off her grave airs, I suppose. I am now told, Lord Godolphin was buried last night.—O poor Ppt! **** I believe I escaped the *new* fever, for the same reason that Ppt did, because I am not well; but why should DD escape it, pray? she is *melthigal*, you know, and ought to have the fever; but I hope it is now too late, and she won't have it at all. Some physicians here talk very melancholy, and think it foreruns the plague, which is actually at Hamburgh. I hoped Ppt would have done with her illness; but I think we both have the faculty never to part with a disorder for ever; we are very constant. I have had my giddiness twenty-three years by fits. Will Mrs Raymond never have done lying in? He intends to leave beggars enough; for I dare say, he has squandered away the best part of his fortune already, and is not out of debt. I had a letter from him lately.

October 11. Lord-treasurer sent for me yesterday and the day before to sit with him, because he is not yet quite well enough to go abroad; and I could not finish my letter. How the deuce come I to be so exact in your money? Just seventeen shillings and eightpence more than due; I believe you

cheat me. Ppt* makes a petition with many apologies. John Danvers, you know, is lady Giffard's friend. The rest I never heard of. I tell you what, as things are at present, I cannot possibly speak to lord-treasurer for any body. I need tell you no more. Something or nothing will be done in my own affairs; if the former, I will be a solicitor for your sister; if the latter, I have done with courts for ever. Opportunities will often fall in my way, if I am used well, and I will then make it my business. It is my delight to do good offices for people who want and deserve it, and a tenfold delight to do it to a relation of Ppt, whose affairs Pdfr has so at heart. I have taken down his name and his case (not *her* case;) and whenever a proper time comes, I will do all I can: that is enough to say when I can do no more; and I beg your pardon a thousand times, that I cannot do better. I hope the dean of St Patrick's is well of his fever: he has never wrote to me: I am glad of it; pray don't desire him to write.* I have dated your bill late, because it must not commence, young women, till the first of November next. O, faith I must be *ise*; yes, faith, must I; else we shall cheat Pdfr. Are you good housewives and readers? Are you walkers? I know you are gamesters. Are you drinkers? Are you ——— hold, I must go no farther, for fear of abusing fine ladies. Parvisol has not sent me one word how he set this year's tithes. Pray, ask whether tithes set well or ill this year. Bishop of Killaloe tells me wool bears a good rate in Ireland: but how is corn?† I dined yesterday with Lady Orkney,

* Ppt, is Mrs Johnson.

† Dean Sterne, with whom Swift was on cold terms.

‡ On the price of which the value of the Doctor's tithes depended.

and we sat alone from two till eleven at night.— You have heard of her, I suppose. I have twenty letters upon my hands, and am so lazy and so busy, I cannot answer them, and they grow upon me for several months. Have I any apples at Laracor? It is strange every year should blast them, when I took so much care for shelter. Lord Bolingbroke has been idle at his country house this fortnight, which puts me backward in business I have. I am got into an ordinary room two pair of stairs, and see nobody, if I can help it; yet some puppies have found me out, and my man is not such an artist as Patrick at denying me. Patrick has been soliciting to come to me again, but in vain. The printer has been here with some of the new whims printed, and has taken up my time. I am just going out, and can only bid you farewell. Farewell, dearest little MD, &c.

LETTER LIV.

London, Oct. 28, 1712.

I HAVE been in physic this month, and have been better these three weeks. I stop my physic, by the doctor's orders, till he sends me further directions. DD grows politician, and longs to hear the peace is proclaimed. I hope we shall have it soon, for the Dutch are fully humbled; and Prior is just come over from France for a few days; I suppose upon some important affair. I saw him last night, but had no private talk with him. Stocks rise upon his

cóming. As for my stay in England, it cannot be long now, so tell my friends. The parliament will not meet till after Christmas, and by that time the work I am doing will be over, and then nothing shall keep me. I am very much discontented at Parvisol, about neglecting to sell my horses, &c.

Lady Masham is not yet brought to-bed; but we expect it daily. I dined with her to-day. Lord Bolingbroke returned about two months ago, and Prior about a week; and goes back (Prior I mean) in a few days. Who told you of my snuff-box and pocket? Did I? I had a letter to-day from Dr Coghil, desiring me to get Raphoe for dean Sterne, and the deanery for myself. I shall indeed, I have such obligations to Sterne. But however, if I am asked who will make a good bishop, I shall name him before any body. Then comes another letter, desiring I would recommend a provost, supposing that Pratt (who has been here about a week) will certainly be promoted; but I believe he will not. I presented Pratt to lord treasurer, and truly young Molyneux would have had me present him too; but I directly answered him I would not, unless he had business with him. He is the son of one Mr Molyneux of Ireland. His father wrote a book; * I suppose you know it. Here is the Duke of Marlborough going out of England (Lord knows why) which causes many speculations.† Some say he is conscious of guilt, and dare not stand it. Others think he has a mind to fling an odium on the government, as who should say, that one, who has

* The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated, 8vo, 1698.

† He went abroad in November 1712, and remained on the Continent till a short time before Queen Anne's death.

done such great services to his country, cannot live quietly in it, by reason of the malice of his enemies. I have helped to patch up these people together once more. God knows how long it may last. I was to-day at a trial between Lord Lansdown and Lord Carteret, two friends of mine. It was in the Queen's Bench, for about six thousand a-year (or nine, I think.) I sat under Lord chief justice Parker, and his pen falling down I reached it up. He made me a low bow; and I was going to whisper him, that *I had done good for evil; for he would have taken mine from me.** I told it lord-treasurer and Bolingbroke. Parker would not have known me, if several lords on the bench, and in the court, bowing, had not turned every body's eyes, and set them a whispering. I owe the dog a spite, and will pay him in two months at farthest, if I can. So much for that. But you must have chat, and I must say every sorry thing that comes into my head. They say the queen will stay a month longer at Windsor. These devils of Grub-street rogues, that write the Flying Post and Medley in one paper, will not be quiet. They are always mauling lord-treasurer, Lord Bolingbroke, and me. We have the dog under prosecution, but Bolingbroke is not active enough; but I hope to swinge him. He is a Scotch rogue, one Ridpath. † They get out upon bail, and

* Lord Chief-justice Parker, upon the prospect of the Whigs returning to power in the end of the preceding year, sent for Morphew, the publisher of the Conduct of the Allies, threatened him, demanded the name of the author, and bound him over to appear next term. See Journal, 13 December, 1711.

† Celebrated in the Dunciad with Abel Roper, a news-writer of the opposite faction often mentioned in this Journal.

There Redpath, Roper cudgell'd you might view;
The very worsted yet looked black and blue.

write on. We take them again, and get fresh bail; so it goes round.* They say some learned Dutchman has wrote a book, proving by civil law, that we do them wrong by this peace; but I shall show, by plain reason, that we have suffered the wrong, and not they. I toil like a horse, and have hundreds of letters still to read: and squeeze a line out of each, or at least the seeds of a line. Strafford goes back to Holland in a day or two, and I hope our peace is very near. I have about thirty pages more to write, (that is to be extracted,) which will be sixty in print. It is the most troublesome part of all, and I cannot keep myself private, though I stole into a room up two pair of stairs, when I came from Windsor; but my present man has not yet learned his lesson of denying me discreetly.

30. The Duchess of Ormond found me out to-day, and made me dine with her. Lady Masham is still expecting. She has had a cruel cold. I could not finish my letter last post for the soul of me. Lord Bolingbroke has had my papers these six weeks, and done nothing to them. Is Tisdall yet in the world? I propose writing controversies, to get a name with posterity. The Duke of Ormond will not be over these three or four days. I design to make him join with me in settling all right among our people. I have ordered the Duchess to let me have an hour with the Duke at his first coming, to give him a true state of persons and things. I believe the Duke of Shrewsbury will hardly be declared your governor yet; at least, I think so now; but resolutions alter very often. Duke Hamilton gave me a pound of

* From this and other passages it would seem, that Swift wanted the equanimity which became a disputant. He could not allow for, or despise, the virulence of the antagonists whom he had provoked, or defied.

snuff to-day, admirable good. I wish DD had it, and Ppt too, if she likes it. It cost me a quarter of an hour of his pontics, which I was forced to hear. Lady Orkney is making me a writing-table of her own contrivance, and a bed nightgown. She is perfectly kind, like a mother. I think the devil was in it the other day, that I should talk to her of an ugly squinting cousin of hers, and the poor lady herself, you know, squints like a dragon. The other day we had a long discourse with her about love; and she told us a saying of her sister Fitzharding, which I thought excellent, that *in men, desire begets love, and in women, love begets desire*. We have abundance of our old criers still hereabouts. I hear every morning your women with the old satin and taffata, &c. the fellow with old coats, suits or cloaks. Our weather is abominable of late. We have not two tolerable days in twenty. I have lost money again at ombre, with Lord Orkney and others; yet, after all, this year I have lost but three-and-twenty shillings; so that considering card money, I am no loser.

Our society hath not yet renewed their meetings. I hope we shall continue to do some good this winter; and lord-treasurer promises the academy for reforming our language shall soon go forward. I must now go hunt those dry letters for materials. You will see something very notable, I hope. So much for that. God Almighty bless you.

LETTER LV.

London, Nov. 15, 1712.

BEFORE this comes to your hands, you will have heard of the most terrible accident that hath almost ever happened. This morning at eight, my man brought me word that Duke Hamilton had fought with Lord Mohun, and killed him, and was brought home wounded. I immediately sent him to the Duke's house, in St James's-square; but the porter could hardly answer for tears, and a great rabble was about the house. In short, they fought at seven this morning. The dog Mohun was killed on the spot; and, while the Duke was over him, Mohun shortened his sword, stabbed him in at the shoulder to the heart. The Duke was helped toward the cake-house by the ring in Hyde Park, (where they fought,) and died on the grass, before he could reach the house; and was brought home in his coach by eight, while the poor Duchess was asleep. Macartney, and one Hamilton, were the seconds, who fought likewise, and are both fled. I am told, that a footman of Lord Mohun's stabbed Duke Hamilton; and some say Macartney did so too. † Mohun gave the affront, and yet sent the

* Endorsed, "Received Nov. 26, just come from Portraîne."

† Various accounts were given of this affair. The quarrel seemed to be forced on the Duke, but there is great room to doubt the prevailing report, that he received foul play. Both the report of the coroner's inquest, and the surgeon's examination, tend to prove, that he died by the wound received from Lord Mohun. And although Colonel Hamilton deposed, that as he went

challenge.* I am infinitely concerned for the poor Duke, who was a frank, honest, good-natured man. I loved him very well, and I think he loved me better. He had the greatest mind in the world to have me go with him to France, but durst not tell it me; and those he did tell, said I could not be spared, which was true.† They have removed the poor Duchess to a lodging in the neighbourhood, where I have been with her two hours, and am just come away. I never saw so melancholy a scene; for indeed all reasons for real grief belong to her; nor is it possible for any body to be a greater loser in all regards. She has moved my very soul. The lodging was inconvenient, and they would have removed her to another; but I would not suffer it, because it had no room backward, and she must have been tortured with the noise of the Grub-street screamers mentioning her husband's murder in her ears.

to raise the Duke from the ground, he saw Macartney make a thrust at him, yet, as he neither mentioned this at the time, nor endeavoured to detain Macartney, his testimony did not receive general credit. See Colonel Hamilton's trial in the State Trials. The Tories insisted, that this was a party duel; the Whigs, that it was entirely a private quarrel. It probably partook of the nature of both.

* At a meeting concerning a law-suit which had long depended between them, the Duke, speaking of one of Lord Mohun's witnesses, said, "He had neither truth nor justice in him;" to which Lord Mohun replied, "He had as much truth and justice as his Grace." Now, although upon these words there might have been some ground for the Duke challenging Mohun, it is certainly difficult to conceive why the challenge should have come as it did from the other side.

† The Duke of Hamilton was about to be sent ambassador to France; hence Parnel's beautiful lines on his death:

Half-peopled Gaul, whom num'rous ills destroy,
With wishful heart attends the promised joy.

I believe you have heard the story of my escape, in opening the band-box sent to the lord-treasurer. * The prints have told a thousand lies of it; but at last we gave them a true account of it at length, printed in "the Evening;" only I would not suffer them to name me, having been so often named be-

For this prepares the Duke — ah, sadly slain!
 'Tis grief to name him when we mourn in vain;
 No warmth of verse repairs the vital flame,
 For verse can only grant a life in fame;
 Yet could my praise, like spicy odours shed,
 In everlasting song embalm the dead,
 To realms that weeping heard the loss I'd tell,
 What courage, sense, and faith, with Brandon fell!

Verses on the Peace.

* "A report was spread of a strange conspiracy against the lord-treasurer, by sending him on that very day a band-box, with three pistols charged and cocked, whose triggers being tied to a pack-thread fastened to the cover, the pistols would have gone off, and done execution at the opening of the box, had not the same been miraculously prevented by Dr Jonathan Swift, who, being then in the room, while his lordship was shaving, suspected something, and opened the box in such a manner that no mischief was done. This was the first story that was whispered about; but the belief of such an extravagant plot was soon exploded, when it was found that the three pistols were no more than a steel set on a pistol-stock to strike fire, and two inkhorns or squibs; so that the lucky discoverer, Dr Swift, was by many suspected to have been the ingenious contriver of this political machine."---RAPIN'S *History of England*, IV. 297. It seems very difficult to understand this affair. To suppose it a trick of Swift, is not only utterly inconsistent with his character, but with common sense; for why should he not have placed real pistols in the box, since he was to open it with such precaution? yet it is not easy to conceive what the Whigs should have hoped from so imperfect an engine. Swift here calls the contents a bullet-piece, and a few pages below says, the fellow to the *pistol* was found in Hyde Park. Yet, at the same time, he mentions the barrels being made of inkhorn, meaning the iron cases used for holding ink and pens. Perhaps the contriver had chosen so ludicrous an implement, that the plot might be ridiculed if it should prove unsuccessful.

fore, and teased to death with questions. I wonder how I came to have so much presence of mind, which is usually not my talent; but so it pleased God, and I saved myself and him; for there was a bullet piece. A gentleman told me, that if I had been killed, the Whigs would have called it a judgment, because the barrels were of inkhorns, with which I had done them so much mischief. There was a pure Grub-street of it, full of lies and inconsistencies. I do not like these things at all, and I wish myself more and more among my willows. There is a devilish spirit among people, and the ministry must exert themselves, or sink. Night, dearest sirrahs, I'll go to sleep.

16. I thought to have finished this yesterday; but was too much disturbed. I sent a letter early this morning to Lady Masham, to beg her to write some comforting words to the poor Duchess. I dined to-day with Lady Masham at Kensington, where she is expecting these two months to lie in. She has promised me to get the queen to write to the Duchess kindly on this occasion; and to-morrow I will beg lord-treasurer to visit and comfort her. I have been with her two hours again, and find her worse. Her violences not so frequent, but her melancholy more formal and settled. She has abundance of wit and spirit; about thirty-three years old; handsome and airy, and seldom spared any body that gave her the least provocation, by which she had many enemies, and few friends. Lady Orkney, her sister-in-law, is come to town on this occasion, and has been to see her, and behaved herself with great humanity. They have been always very ill together, and the poor Duchess could not have patience when people told her I went often to Lady Orkney's. But I am resolved to make them friends; for the Duchess is now no more the

object of envy, and must learn humility from the severest master, Affliction. I design to make the ministry put out a proclamation (if it can be found proper) against that villain Macartney. What shall we do with these murderers? I cannot end this letter to-night, and there is no occasion; for I cannot send it till Tuesday, and the coroner's inquest on the Duke's body is to be to-morrow. And I shall know more. But what care you for all this? Yes, MD is sorry for Pdfr's friends; and this is a very surprising event. 'Tis late, and I'll go to bed. This looks like journals. Night.

17. I was to-day at noon with the Duchess of Hamilton again, after I had been with Lady Orkney, and charged her to be kind to her sister in affliction. The Duchess told me Lady Orkney had been with her, and that she did not treat her as gently as she ought. They hate one another, but I will try to patch it up. I have been drawing up a paragraph for the Post-Boy, to be out to-morrow, and as malicious as possible, and very proper for Abel Roper, the printer of it. I dined at lord-treasurer's at six in the evening, which is his usual hour of returning from Windsor: he promised to visit the Duchess to-morrow, and says he has a message to her from the queen. 'Tis late; I have staid till past one with him. So night, dearest MD.

18. The committee of council is to sit this afternoon upon the affair of Duke Hamilton's murder, and I hope a proclamation will be out against Macartney. I was just now ('tis now noon) with the Duchess, to let her know lord-treasurer will see her. She is mightily indisposed. The jury have not yet brought in their verdict upon the coroner's inquest. We suspect Macartney stabbed the Duke while he was fighting. The queen and lord-treasurer are in great concern at this event. I dine to-

day again with lord-treasurer; but must send this to the post-office before, because else I shall not have time; he usually keeps me so late. Ben Tooke bid me write to DD to send her certificate, for it is high time it should be sent, he says. Pray make Parvisol write to me. and send me a general account of my affairs; and let him know I shall be over in spring, and that by all means he sells the horses. Prior has kissed the queen's hand, and will return to France in a few days, and Lord Strafford to Holland; and now the king of Spain has renounced his pretensions to France, the peace must follow very soon unavoidably. You must no more call Philip, Duke of Anjou, for we now acknowledge him king of Spain. Dr Pratt tells me, you are all mad in Ireland with playhouse frolics and prologues, and I know not what. The bishop of Clogher and his family are well: they have heard from you lately, or you from them, I have forgot which: I dined there the other day; but the bishop came not till after dinner; and our meat and drink was very so so. Mr Vedeau was with me yesterday, and inquired after you. He was a lieutenant, and is now broke, and upon half-pay. He asked me nothing for himself; but wanted an employment for a friend, *who would give a handsome pair of gloves*. One Hales sent me up a letter the other day, which said you lodged in his house, and therefore desired I would get him a civil employment. I would not be within, and have directed my man to give him an answer, that I never open letters brought me by the writers, &c. I was complaining to a lady, that I wanted to mend an employment from forty to sixty pounds a-year, in the salt-office, and thought it hard I could not do it. She told me one Mr Griffin should do it. And afterward I met Griffin at her lodgings; and he was,

as I found, one I had been acquainted with. I named Filby to him, and his abode somewhere near Nantwich. He said frankly, he had formerly examined the man, and found he understood very little of his business; but if he heard he mended, he would do what I desired. I will let it rest a while, and then resume it; and if Ppt writes to Filby, she may advise him to diligence, &c. I told Griffin positively I would have it done, if the man mended. This is an account of Ppt's commission to her most humble servant Pdfr. I have a world of writing to finish, and little time; these toads of ministers are *so slow in their helps*. This makes me sometimes steal a week from the exactness I used to write to MD. Farewell, dearest little MD, &c. Smoke the folding of my letters of late.

LETTER LVI.

London Dec. 12, 1712.

HERE is now a strange thing; a letter from MD unanswered: never was before. I am slower, and MD is faster: but the last was owing to DD's certificate. Why could it not be sent before, pray now? Is it so hard for DD to prove she is alive? I protest solemnly I am not able to write to MD for other business, but I will renew my journal method next time. I find it is easier, though it contains nothing but where I dine, and the occurrences of the day. I will write now but once in three weeks

till this business is off my hands, which must be in six, I think, at farthest. O! Ppt, I remember your reprimanding me for meddling in other people's affairs: I have enough of it now, with a vengeance. Two women have been here six times a-piece; I never saw them yet. The first I have dispatched with a letter; the other I must see, and tell her I can do nothing for her: she is wife of one Mr Connor, an old college acquaintance, and comes on a foolish errand, for some old pretensions, that will succeed when I am lord-treasurer. I am got up two pair of stairs, in a private lodging, and have ordered all my friends not to discover where I am; yet every morning two or three sets are plaguing me, and my present servant has not yet his lesson perfect of denying me. I have written a hundred and thirty pages in folio, to be printed, and must write thirty more, which will make a large book of four shillings. * I wish I knew an opportunity of sending you some snuff. I will watch who goes to Ireland, and do it if possible. I had a letter from Parvisol, and find he has set my livings very low. Colonel Hamilton, who was second to Duke Hamilton, is tried to-day. I suppose he is come off, but have not heard. I dined with lord-treasurer, but left him by nine, and visited some people. Lady Betty, his daughter, will be married on Monday next (as I suppose) to the Marquis of Caermarthen. I did not know your country place had been Portrairie, † till you told me so in your last. Has Swanton taken it of Wallis? That Wallis was a grave, wise coxcomb. God be thanked that Ppt is better of her disorders. God keep her so. The

* History of the Peace of Utrecht.

† Or Portrain, about seven miles from Dublin.

pamphlet of Political Lying is written by Dr Arbuthnot, the author of John Bull; 'tis very pretty, but not so obvious to be understood. Higgins, first chaplain to Duke Hamilton? Why, Duxe Hamilton never dreamt of a chaplain, nor I believe ever heard of Higgins. You are glorious newsmongers in Ireland—Dean Francis, Sir Richard Levinge, stuff: and Pratt, more stuff. We have lost our fine frost here; and Abel Roper tells me you have had floods in Dublin; ho, have you? Oh ho! Swanton seized Portraine, now I understand you. Ay, ay, now I see Portraine at the top of your letter. I never minded it before. Now to your second, N. 36. So, you read one of the Grub-streets about the band-box. The Whig papers have abused me about the band-box. God help me, what could I do? I fairly ventured my life. There is a particular account of it in the Post-Boy, and Evening Post of that day. Lord-treasurer has had the seal sent him that sealed the box, and directions where to find the other pistol in a tree in St James's Park, which Lord Bolingbroke's messenger found accordingly; but who sent the present is not yet known. *

* The following ballad, which enumerates all the various charges of plots against the ministry, seems worthy of preservation. It enumerates first what was called the Screw-plot, being the withdrawing of certain screw-bolts from the timbers of St Paul's, from which was inferred an intention of destroying the queen and ministry, who were to attend service there on the thanksgiving-day. This proved to have arisen from the neglect of some of the work-people. The third stanza refers to the intended Pope-burning on Queen Elizabeth's night; and the fourth to the ravages of Mohocks, which the Tories, we have seen, interpreted as a thing devised by the enemy. Lastly, there was the Band-box plot, which, after all, seems either to have been the work of a madman, or designed for a jest. From considering these various alarms, the reader will probably be satisfied, that the æra of sham-plots did not con-

Duke Hamilton avoided the quarrel as much as possible, according to the foppish rules of honour in practice. What signified your writing angry to

clude with the reign of Charles II., although in that of Queen Anne they were not driven to the same sanguinary conclusions.

Plot upon Plot.

To the Tune of—"Hey Boys! Up go we."

O wicked Whigs! what can you mean?
 When will your plotting cease
 Against our most renowned queen,
 Her ministry, and peace?
 Your Protestant succession's safe,
 As our great men agree;
 Bourbon has Spain, the Tories laugh:
 Then hey boys! Up go ye.

Some of your Matchi'villian crew
 From heavy roof of Paul,
 Most trait'rously stole ev'ry screw,
 To make that fabric fall:
 And so to catch her majesty,
 And all her friends beguile;
 As birds are trapt by boys most sly,
 In pit-fall with a tile.

You for your bonfires mawkins dress'd
 On good queen Bess's day,
 Whereby much treason was express'd,
 As all true churchmen say,
 Against the Devil and the Pope,
 The French, our new ally,
 And Perkin too, that youth of hope,
 In whom we all rely.

You sent your Mohocks next abroad,
 With razors arm'd, and knives;
 Who on night-walkers made inroad,
 And scared our maids and wives:
 They scour'd the watch, and windows broke,
 But 'twas their true intent,
 (As our wise ministry did smoke)
 T' o'erturn the government.

But now your last and blackest deed,
 What mortal can rehearse?
 The thought of't makes my heart to bleed:
 O muse, assist my verse!
 A plot it was so deeply laid,
 So diabolical,
 Had not the secret been betray'd,
 In *one* 't had slain us all.

Filby? I hope you said nothing of hearing any thing from me. Heigh! do you write by candlelight! naughty, naughty, naughty, dallah, a hundred times, for doing so. O, faith, DD, I'll take care of myself! The queen is in town, and Lady Masham's month of lying-in is within two days of being out. I was at the christening on Monday. I could not get the child named Robin, after lord-treasurer; it is Samuel, after the father. My brother Ormond sent me some chocolate to-day. I wish you had share of it: they say it is good for me, and I design to drink some in the morning. Our society meets next Thursday, now the queen is in town; and

Two inkhorn tops your Whigs did fill
 With gunpowder and lead;
 Which, with two serpents made of quill,
 You in a band-box laid:
 A tinder box there was beside,
 Which had a trigger to't,
 To which the very string was ty'd,
 That was design'd to do't.

As traitors spare not care nor cost,
 These crackers dire were sent,
 To th' treasurer, per penny-post,
 And safely so they went:
 And if my lord had pull'd the thread,
 Then up had blown the train,
 And th' inkhorns must have shot him dead,
 Or else have burst in twain.

But fortune spared that precious life,
 And so saved church and queen:
 Good Swift was by, and had a knife
 For corn or pen made keen;
 Stand off, my 'lord! cry'd he, this thread
 To cut I will not doubt.
 He cut, then ope'd the bandbox lid,
 And so the plot came out.

Now God preserve our gracious queen;
 And for this glorious deed,
 May she the doctor make a dean,
 With all convenient speed:
 What though the *Tub* hath hinder'd him,
 As common story tells,
 Yet surely now the *band-box* *whim*
 Will help him down to *Wells*.

lord-treasurer assures me, that the society for re-forming the language shall soon be established. I have given away ten shillings to-day to servants. What a stir is here about your company and visits! Charming company, no doubt; now I keep no company, nor have I any desire to keep any. I never go to a coffee-house nor a tavern, nor have touched a card since I left Windsor. I make few visits, nor go to levees; my only debauch is sitting late where I dine, if I like the company. I have almost dropped the Duchesses of Shrewsbury and Hamilton, and several others. Lord-treasurer, the Duke of Ormond, and Lady Orkney, are all that I see very often. O yes, and Lady Masham and Lord Bolingbroke, and one or two private friends. I make no figure but at court, where I affect to turn from a lord to the meanest of my acquaintance, and I love to go there on Sundays to see the world. But, to say the truth, I am growing weary of it. I dislike a million of things in the course of public affairs; and if I were to stay here much longer, I am sure I should ruin myself with endeavouring to mend them. I am every day invited into schemes of doing this, but I cannot find any that will probably succeed. It is impossible to save people against their own will; and I have been too much engaged in patch-work already. Do you understand all this stuff? * No. Well then, you are now returned to ombre and the dean, and Christmas; I wish you a very merry one; and pray don't lose your money, nor play upon Watt Welch's game. Night, sirrahs, it is late, I'll go to sleep; I don't

* The reader, however, may easily understand it, by recollecting how anxiously Swift laboured to solder breaches between Bolingbroke and Oxford.

sleep well, and therefore never dare to drink coffee or tea after dinner: but I am very sleepy in a morning. This is the effect of wine and years. Night, dearest MD.

13. Morning. I am so very sleepy in the morning, that my man wakens me above ten times; and now I can tell you no news of this day. (Here is a restless dog, crying cabbages and savoys, plagues me every morning about this time; he is now at it. I wish his largest cabbage were sticking in his throat.) I lodge over against the house in Little Rider street, where DD lodged. Don't you remember, mistress? To-night I must see the Abbè Gautier, to get some particulars for my history. It was he, who was first employed by France in the overtures of peace, and I have not had time this month to see him; he is but a puppy too. Lady Orkney has just sent to invite me to dinner; she has not given me the bed night-gown; besides, I am come very much off from writing in bed, though I am doing it this minute; but I stay till my fire is burnt up. My grate is very large; two bushels of coals in a week: but I save it in lodgings. Lord Abercorn is come to London, and he will plague me, and I can do him no service. The Duke of Shrewsbury goes in a day or two for France, perhaps to-day. We shall have a peace very soon; the Dutch are almost entirely agreed, and if they stop, we shall make it without them; that has been resolved. One Squire Jones, a scoundrel in my parish, has writ to me, to desire I would engage Joe Beaumont to give him his interest for parliament man for him: pray tell Joe this; and if he designed to vote for him already, then he may tell Jones, that I received his letter, and that I writ to Joe to do it. If Joe be engaged for any other, then he may do what he will: and Parvisol may say he

spoke to Joe, and Joe is engaged, &c. I received three pair of fine thread stockings from Joe lately. Pray thank him when you see him; and that I say they are very fine and good. (I never looked at them yet, but that's no matter.) This is a fine day. I am ruined with coaches and chairs this twelve penny weather. I must see my brother Ormond at eleven, and then the Duchess of Hamilton, with whom I doubt I am in disgrace, not having seen her these ten days. I send this to-day, and must finish it now; and perhaps some people may come and hinder me; for it is ten o'clock (but not shaving day;) and I must be abroad at eleven. Abbé Gautier sends me word I cannot see him to-night; p— take him! I don't value any thing but one letter he has of Petecum's, showing the roguery of the Dutch. Did not the Conduct of the Allies make you great politicians? Faith, I believe, you are not quite so ignorant as I thought you. I am glad to hear you walked so much in the country. Does DD ever read to you, young woman? O, faith, I shall find strange doings when I come home! Here is somebody coming that I must see that wants a little place; the son of cousin Rooke's eldest daughter, that died many years ago. He is here. Farewell, dearest MD, FW, Me, Lele.

LETTER LVII.

London, Dec. 18, 1712.

OUR society was to meet to-day; but Lord Harley, who was president this week, could not attend,

being gone to Wimbleton with his new brother-in-law, the young Marquis of Caermarthen, who married Lady Betty Harley on Monday last; and lord-treasurer is at Winbleton too. However, half a dozen of us met, and I propose our meetings should be once a fortnight; for, between you and me, we do no good. It cost me nineteen shillings to-day for my club dinner; I don't like it. We have terrible snowy slobbery weather. Lord Abercorn is come to town, and will see me, whether I will or not. You know he has a pretence to a dukedom in France,* which Duke Hamilton was soliciting for; but Abercorn resolves to spoil their title, if they will not allow him a fourth part; and I have advised the Duchess to compound with him, and have made the ministry of my opinion. Night, dear sirrahs, MD.

19. How agreeable it is in a morning for Pdfr to write journals again! It is as natural as mother's milk, now I am got into it. Lord-treasurer is returned from Wimbleton ('tis not above eight miles off) and sent for me to dine with him at five; but I had the grace to be abroad, and dined with some others, with honest Ben Tooke, by invitation. The Duchess of Ormond promised me her picture, and coming home to-night, I found hers and the Duke's both in my chamber. Was not that a pretty civil surprise? Yes, and they are in fine gilded frames too. I am writing a letter to thank her; which I will send to-morrow morning. I will tell her, she is such a prude, that she will not let so much as her picture be alone in a room with *a man*, unless the

* The dukedom of Chatelherault. Both families continue to claim the title. I know not if the Duke of Hamilton was so fortunate as to secure the property.

Duke's be with it ; and so forth. We are full of snow, and dabbling. Lady Masham has come abroad these three days, and seen the queen. I dined with her the other day at her sister Hill's. I hope she will remove in a few days to her new lodgings at St James's from Kensington. Night, dearest rogues, MD.

20. I lodge up two pair of stairs, have but one room, and deny myself to every body almost, yet I cannot be quiet ; and all my mornings are lost with people, who will not take answers below stairs ; such as Dilly, and the bishop, and provost, &c. Lady Orkney invited me to dinner to-day, which hindered me from dining with lord-treasurer. This is his day, that his chief friends in the ministry dine with him. However, I went there about six, and sat with him till past nine, when they all went off ; but he kept me back, and told me the circumstances of Lady Betty's match. The young fellow has 60,000*l.* ready money, three great houses furnished, 7000*l.* a year at present, and about five more after his father and mother die. I think Lady Betty's portion is not above 8000*l.* I remember Tisdall writ to me in somebody's letter, or you did it for him, that I should mention him on occasion to Lord Anglesey, with whom, he said, he had some little acquaintance. Lord Anglesey was with me to-night at lord-treasurer's ; and then I asked him about Tisdall, and described him. He said, he never saw him, but that he had sent him his book. See what it is to be a puppy. Pray tell Mr Walls, that Lord Anglesey thanked me for recommending Clements to him ; that he says, he is 20,000*l.* the better for knowing Clements. But pray don't let Clements go and write a letter of thanks, and tell my lord, that he hears so and so, &c. Why, it is but like an *Irish* understanding to do so. Sad weather ; two

shillings in coaches to-day, and yet I am dirty. I am now going to read over something, and correct it. So, night.

21. Puppies have got a new way of plaguing me. I find letters directed for me at lord-treasurer's, sometimes with enclosed ones to him, and sometimes with projects, and sometimes with libels. I usually keep them three or four days without opening. I was at court to-day, as I always am on Sundays, instead of a coffeehouse, to see my acquaintance. This day se'ennight, after I had been talking at court with Sir William Wyndham, the Spanish ambassador came to him, and said, he heard that was Dr Swift, and desired him to tell me, that his master, and the king of France, and the queen, were more obliged to me than any man in Europe; so we bowed, and shook hands, &c. I took it very well of him. I dined with lord-treasurer, and must again to-morrow, though I had rather not (as DD says); but now the queen is in town, he does not keep me so late. I have not had time to see Fanny Manley since she came; but intend it one of these days. Her uncle, Jack Manley, I hear, cannot live a month, which will be a great loss to her father in Ireland, for I believe he is one of his chief supports. Our peace now will soon be determined; for Lord Bolingbroke tells me this morning, that four provinces of Holland have complied with the queen, and we expect the rest will do so immediately. Night, MD.

22. Lord-keeper promised me yesterday the first convenient living to poor Mr Gery, * who is mar-

* Mr Gery, rector of Litcombe, in Berks, whom Swift highly esteemed.

ried, and wants some addition to what he has. He is a very worthy creature. I had a letter some weeks ago from Elwick, who married Betty Gery. It seems the poor woman died some time last summer. Elwick grows rich, and purchases lands. I dined with lord-treasurer to-day, who has engaged me to come again to-morrow. I gave Lord Bolingbroke a poem of Parnell's. I made Parnell insert some compliments in it to his lordship.* He is extremely pleased with it, and read some parts of it to-day to lord-treasurer, who liked it as much. And indeed he outdoes all our poets here a bar's length. Lord Bolingbroke has ordered me to bring him to dinner on Christmas day, and I made lord-treasurer promise to see him; and it may one day do Parnell a kindness.† You know Parnell. I believe I have told you of that poem. Night, dear MD.

* The following are the lines in question, and they are rather flat :

" These toils the graceful Bolingbroke attends,
A genius fashion'd for the greatest ends ;
Whose strong perception takes the swiftest flight,
And yet its swiftness ne'er obscures its sight :
When schemes are fix'd, and each assign'd a part,
None serves his country with a nobler heart ;
Just thoughts of honour all his mind controul,
And expedition wings his lively soul.
On such a patriot to confer the trust,
The monarch knows it safe, as well as just."

Poem on the Peace.

† The well-known verses of Pope, on the intimacy between Lord Oxford, Parnell, and Swift, form an elegant and affecting preface to Parnell's poems.

Such were the notes, thy once-loved poet sung,
Till death untimely stop'd his tuneful tongue.
Oh just beheld, and lost ! admired and mourn'd !
With softest manners, gentlest arts, adorn'd !
Blest in each science, blest in every strain !
Dear to the muse, to Harley dear—in vain !

For him, thou oft hast bid the world attend,
Fond to forget the statesman in the friend :

23. This morning I presented one Diaper, * a poet, to Lord Bolingbroke, with a new poem, which is a very good one; and I am to give him a sum of money from my lord; and I have contrived to make a parson of him, for he is half one already, being in deacon's orders, and serves a small cure in the country; but has a sword at his tail here in town. It is a poor, little, short wretch, but will do best in a gown, and we will make lord-keeper give him a living. Lord Bolingbroke writ to lord-treasurer to excuse me to-day; so I dined with the former, and Monteleon, the Spanish ambassador, who made me many compliments. I staid till that and now it is past ten, and my man has locked queen, up, and I have just called to mind that I Europe; in disgrace with Tom Leigh. That coxcomb it very got into acquaintance with one Eckershall, and must the kitchen to the queen, who was civil it (as DD Windsor on my account; for I had done does not vice to Eckershall. Leigh teases me to see Fan-evening at his lodgings with Eckershall; it one of off several times, but was forced at last to fear, can-I would come to-night; and it never was to her head till I was locked up, ~~and~~ I have called ~~and~~ called, but my man is gone to bed; so I will write

For Swift and him despised the farce of state,
The sober follies of the wise and great;
Dextrous the craving, fawning crowd to quit,
And pleased to 'scape from flattery to wit.

Absent or dead, still let a friend be dear,
(A sigh the absent claims, the dead a tear.)
Recall those nights that closed thy toilsome days,
Still hear thy Parnell in his living lays:
Who careless now of interest, fame, or fate,
Perhaps forgets that Oxford e'er was great;
Or deeming meanness what we greatest call,
Beholds thee glorious only in thy fall.

* Author of the Sea Eclogues, mentioned before.

an excuse to-morrow. I detest that Tom Leigh, and am as formal to him as I can when I happen to meet him in the Park. The rogue frets me if he knew it. He asked me, "Why I did not wait on the bishop of Dromore?"* I answered, "I had not the honour to be acquainted with him, and would not presume," &c. He takes me seriously; and says, "The bishop is no proud man," &c. He tells me of a judge in Ireland, that has done ill things. I ask, "Why he is not out?" Says he, "I think the bishops, and you, and I, and the rest of the clergy, should meet and consult about it." I beg his pardon, and say, "I cannot be serviceable that dinne." He answers, "Yes, every body may help promising."—Don't you see how curiously he con-nell a to vex me; for the dog knows, that with I have t^ord I could do more than all of them to-

But he only does it from the pride and his own heart, and not out of a humorous
 —his own heart, and not out of a humorous
 * The f^of teasing. He is one of those that would
 flat: service should not be done, than done by a
 man, and of his own country. You take all
 a't you? Night, dearest sirrahs! I will go
 ep.

24. I dined to-day with the chancellor of the exchequer, † in order to look over some of my papers; but nothing was done. I have been also mediating between the Hamilton family and Lord Abercorn, to have them compound with him; and I believe they will do it. Lord Selkirk, ‡ the late

* Dr Tobias Pullen, 1695—1713.

† Robert Benson, Esq.

‡ Lord Charles Douglas. When his father, William Earl of Selkirk, married Anne Duchess of Hamilton, the dukedom and estates of Hamilton descending upon his eldest son, and his second

Duke's brother, is to be in town, in order to go to France, to make the demands ; and the ministry are of opinion, they will get some satisfaction, and they empowered me to advise the Hamilton side to agree with Abercorn, who asks a fourth part, and will go to France and spoil all if they don't yield it. Night, dearest sirrahs.

25. **** I carried Parnell to dine at Lord Bolingbroke's, and he behaved himself very well ; and Lord Bolingbroke is mightily pleased with him. I was at St James's chapel by eight this morning ; and church and sacrament were done by ten. The queen has got the gout in her hand, and did not come to church to-day ; and I staid so long in my chamber, that I missed going to court. Did I tell you, that the queen designs to have a drawing-room and company every day ? Night, dear rogues.

26. I was to wish the Duke of Ormond a happy Christmas, and give half-a-crown to his porter. It will cost me a dozen half-crowns among such fellows. I dined with lord-treasurer, who chid me for being absent three days. Mighty kind with a p— ; less of civility, and more of interest ! We hear Macartney is gone over to Ireland. * Was it not comical for a gentleman to be ~~beat~~ upon by high-

dying without issue, Lord William, the third son, was, upon his father's resignation in his favour, confirmed by James VII. in the paternal honour of Earl of Selkirk.

* General Macartney, who had been Lord Mohun's second in the duel with the Duke of Hamilton, and whom the popular voice accused of being the Duke's murderer, being confessedly within the danger of the law, fled to the Continent, after a day or two's concealment about London. The reward offered for his apprehension was 500l. by the crown, and 200l. by the Duchess of Hamilton. In the reign of George I., when government was favourable to his cause, and party violence somewhat cooled, Macartney returned, was tried, and acquitted.

waymen, and to tell them he was Macartney? Upon which they brought him to a justice of peace, in hopes of a reward, and the rogues were sent to gaol. Was it not great presence of mind? But may be you heard of this already; for there was a Grub-street of it. Lord Bolingbroke told me I must walk away to-day when dinner was done, because lord-treasurer, and he, and another, were to enter upon business; but I said, it was as fit I should know their business as any body, for I was to justify. So the rest went, and I staid, and it was so important, I was like to sleep over it. I left them at nine, and it is now twelve. Night, MD.

27. I dined to-day with General Hill, governor of Dunkirk. Lady Masham and Mrs Hill, his two sisters, were of the company, and there have I been sitting this evening till eleven, looking over others at play; for I have left off loving play myself; and I think Ppt is now a great gamester. I have a great cold on me, not quite at its height. I have them seldom, and therefore ought to be patient. I met Mr Addison and pastoral Philips on the Mall to-day, and took a turn with them; but they both looked terribly dry and cold. A curse of party! And do you know I have taken more pains to recommend the Whig wits to the favour and mercy of the ministers, than any other people. Steele I have kept in his place. Congreve I have got to be used kindly, and secured. Rowe I have recommended, and got a promise of a place. Philips I should certainly have provided for, if he had not run party mad, and made me withdraw my recommendation. I set Addison so right at first, that he might have been employed, and have partly secured him the place he has; yet I am worse used by that faction than any man. Well, go to cards, sir-

rah Ppt, and dress the wine and orange, sirrah Me, * and I'll go sleep. It is late. Night, MD.

28. My cold is so bad, that I could not go to church to-day, nor to court; but I was engaged to Lord Orkney's, with the Duke of Ormond, at dinner; and ventured because I could cough and spit there as I pleased. The Duke and Lord Arran left us, and I have been sitting ever since with Lord and Lady Orkney till past eleven: and my cold is worse, and makes me giddy. I hope it is only my cold. O, says Ppt, every body is giddy with a cold; I hope it is no more; but I'll go to bed, for the fellow has bawled past twelve. Night, dears.

29. I got out early to-day, and escaped all my duns. I went to see Lord Bolingbroke about some business, and truly he was gone out too. I dined in the city upon the broiled leg of a goose and a bit of bacon, with my printer. Did I tell you that I forbear printing what I have in hand, till the court decides something about me? I will contract no more enemies, at least I will not embitter worse those I have already, till I have got under shelter; and the ministers know my resolution, so that you may be disappointed in seeing this thing as soon as you expected. I hear lord-treasurer is out of order. My cold is very bad. Every body has one. Night, dear rogues.

30. I suppose this will be full by Saturday. Duke of Ormond, Lord Arran, and I, dined privately to-day at an old servant's house of his. The council made us part at six. One Mrs Ramsay dined with us; an old lady of about fifty-five, that we are all very fond of. I called this evening at lord-treasurer's, and sat with him two hours. He has been cupped

* Here Me plainly means Dingley.

for a cold, and has been very ill. He cannot dine with Parnell and me at Lord Bolingbroke's to-morrow ; but says he will see Parnell some other time. I hoise up Parnell partly to spite the envious Irish folks here, particularly Tom Leigh. I saw the Bishop of Clogher's family to-day ; miss is mighty ill of a cold, and coughs incessantly. Night, MD.

31. To-day Parnell and I dined with Lord Bolingbroke, to correct Parnell's poem. I made him show all the places he disliked ; and when Parnell has corrected it fully he shall print it. I went this evening to sit with lord-treasurer. He is better, and will be out in a day or two. I sat with him while the young folks went to supper ; and then went down, and there were the young folks merry together, having turned Lady Oxford up to my lord, and I staid with them till twelve. There was the young couple, Lord and Lady Caermarthen, and Lord and Lady Dupplin, and Lord Harley and I ; and the old folks were together above. It looked like what I have formerly done so often ; stealing together from the old folks, though indeed it was not from poor lord-treasurer, who is as young a fellow as any of us : but Lady Oxford is a silly mere old woman. My cold is still so bad, that I have not the least smelling. I am just got home, and 'tis past twelve ; and I'll go to bed, and settle my head, heavy as lead.

Jan. 1. A great many new years to dearest MD. Pray God Almighty bless you, and send you ever happy ! I forgot to tell you, that yesterday Lord Abercorn was here, teasing me about his French duchy, and suspecting my partiality to the Hamilton family in such a whimsical manner, that Dr Pratt, who was by, thought he was mad. He was no sooner gone, but Lord Orkney sent to know, whether he might come and sit with me half an

hour upon some business. I returned answer that I would wait on him ; which I did. We discoursed a while, and he left me with Lady Orkney ; and in came the Earl of Selkirk, whom I had never seen before. He is another brother of Duke Hamilton, and is going to France, by a power from his mother the old Duchess, to negociate their pretensions to the duchy of Châtelleraut. He teased me for two hours in spite of my teeth, and held my hand when I offered to stir ; would have had me engage the ministry to favour him against Lord Abercorn, and to convince them, that Lord Abercorn had no pretensions ; and desired I would also convince Lord Abercorn himself so ; and concluded, he was sorry I was a greater friend to Abercorn than Hamilton. I had no patience, and used him with some plainness. Am not I purely handled between a couple of puppies ? Ay, says Ppt, you must be meddling in other folk's affairs. I appeal to the Bishop of Clogher whether Abercorn did not complain, that I would not let him see me last year, and that he swore he would take no denial from my servant when he came again. The ministers gave me leave to tell the Hamilton family, it was their opinion, that they ought to agree with Abercorn. Lord Anglesey was then by, and told Abercorn ; upon which he gravely tells me, I was commissioned by the ministers, and ought to perform my commission, &c.— But I'll have done with them. I have warned lord treasurer, and Lord Bolingbroke, to beware of Selkirk's teasing on him ! yet Abercorn vexes me more. The whelp owes to me all the kind receptions he has had from the ministry. I dined to-day at lord treasurer's with the young folks, and sat with lord-treasurer till nine, and then was forced to Lady Masham's, and sat there till twelve, talking of affairs, till I am out of humour, as every one must,

that knows them inwardly. A thousand things wrong, most of them easy to mend; yet our schemes availing at best but little, and sometimes nothing at all. One evil, which I twice patched up with the hazard of all the credit I had, is now spread more than ever. But, burn politics, and send me from courts and ministers! Night, dearest little MD.

2. I sauntered about this morning, and went with Dr Pratt to a picture auction, where I had like to be drawn in to buy a picture that I was fond of; but, it seems, was good for nothing. Pratt was there to buy some pictures for the Bishop of Clogher, who resolves to lay out ten pounds to furnish his house with curious pieces. * We dined with the bishop, I being by chance disengaged. And this evening I sate with the Bishop of Ossory, † who is laid up with the gout. The French ambassador, Duke d'Aumont, ‡ came to town to-night; and the rabble conducted him home with shouts. I cannot smell yet, though my cold begins to break. It continues cruel hard frosty weather. Go and be merry, little sirrahs.

3. Lord Dupplin and I went with Lord and Lady Orkney this morning at ten to Wimbleton, six miles off, to see Lord and Lady Caermarthen. It is much the finest place about this town. Did you never see it? I was once there before, about five years

* This seems to be seriously written; and if so, how many *curious pieces* of painting were to be bought for ten pounds? If the phrase be ironical, it is inconsistent with the rest of the Bishop's character, who was neither fool nor miser.

† Dr John Harstonge, translated to Derry in 1714.

‡ He entered in prodigious state, and scattered money among the populace, bribing their applause, as the Whigs alleged, both through their eyes and their fingers.

ago. You know Lady Caermarthen is lord-treasurer's daughter, married about three weeks ago.— I hope the young fellow will be a good husband. I must send this away now. I came back just by nightfall, cruel cold weather; **** I'll take my leave. I forgot how MD's accounts are. Pray let me know always timely before MD wants; and pray give the bill on the other side to Mrs Brent as usual. I believe I have not paid her this great while. Go, play at cards. **** Love Pdfr. Night, MD, FW, Me, Lele. The six odd shillings, tell Mrs Brent, are for her new year's gift. I am just now told, that poor dear Lady Ashburnham, the Duke of Ormond's daughter, died yesterday at her country house. The poor creature was with child. She was my greatest favourite, and I am in excessive concern for her loss. I hardly knew a more valuable person on all accounts. You must have heard me talk of her. I am afraid to see the Duke and Duchess. She was naturally very healthy; I fear has been thrown away for want of care. Pray condole with me. 'Tis extremely moving. Her lord is a puppy; and I shall never think it worth my while to be troubled with him, now he has lost all that was valuable in his possession; yet I think he used her pretty well. I hate life, when I think it exposed to such accidents; and to see so many thousand wretches burdening the earth, while such as her die, makes me think God did never intend life for a blessing. * Farewell.

* This is the reflection of nature, and therefore always affecting. In the extinction of one valuable life, we look upon that indulged to the thousands who remain, as a superfluous waste of existence.

Why should a dog, a horse, a rat, have life,
And those no breath at all?

LETTER LVIII.

London, Jan. 4, 1712-13.

I ENDED my last with the melancholy news of poor Lady Ashburnham's death. The Bishop of Clogher and Dr Pratt made me dine with them to-day at Lord Mountjoy's, pursuant to an engagement, which I had forgot. Lady Mountjoy told me, that Macartney was got safe out of our clutches, for she had spoke with one who had a letter from him from Holland. Others say the same thing.— As I left Lord Mountjoy's, I saw the Duke d'Aumont, the French ambassador, going from Lord Bolingbroke's where he dined, to have a private audience of the queen. I followed, and went up to court, where there was a great crowd. I was talking with the Duke of Argyle, by the fireside in the bedchamber, when the ambassador came out from the queen. Argyle presented me to him, and Lord Bolingbroke, and we talked together a while. He is a fine gentleman, something like the Duke of Ormond, and just such an expensive man. After church to-day, I showed the Bishop of Clogher, at court, who was who. Night, my two dear rogues.

5. Our frost is broke, but it is bloody cold. Lord-treasurer is recovered, and went out this evening to the queen. I dined with Lady Oxford, and then sate with lord-treasurer till he went out. He gave me a letter from an unknown hand, relating to Dr Brown, Bishop of Cork, recommending him to a better bishopric, as a person who opposed Lord Wharton, and was made a bishop on that account,

célébrating him for a great politician, &c. In short, all directly contrary to his character, which I made bold to explain. What dogs there are in the world ! I was to see the poor Duke and Duchess of Ormond this morning. The Duke was in his public room, with Mr Southwell and two more gentlemen. When Southwell and I were alone with him, he talked something of Lord Ashburnham, that he was afraid the Whigs would get him again. He bore up as well as he could, but something falling accidentally in discourse, the tears were just falling out of his eyes, and I looked off to give him an opportunity (which he took) of wiping them with his handkerchief. I never saw any thing so moving, nor such a mixture of greatness of mind, and tenderness and discretion. Night, dearest MD.

6. Lord Bolingbroke, and Parnell, and I, dined, by invitation, with my friend Dartineuf, whom you have heard me talk of. Lord Bolingbroke likes Parnell mightily ; and it is pleasant to see, that one, who hardly passed for any thing in Ireland, makes his way here with a little friendly forwarding. It is scurvy rainy weather, and I have hardly been abroad to-day, nor know any thing that passes.— Lord-treasurer is quite recovered, and I hope will take care to keep himself well. The Duchess of Marlborough is leaving England, to go to her Duke, and makes presents of rings to several friends, they say worth two hundred pounds a piece. I am sure she ought to give me one, though the Duke pretended to think me his greatest enemy, and got people to tell me so, and very mildly to let me know how gladly he would have me softened toward him. I bid a lady of his acquaintance and mine let him know, that I had hindered many a bitter thing against him ; not for his own sake, but because I thought it looked base ; and I desired every

thing should be left him, except power: Night, MD.*

7. I dined with Lord and Lady Masham to-day, and this evening played at ombre with Mrs Van-homrigh, merely for amusement. The ministers have got my papers, and will neither read them, nor give them to me; and I can hardly do any thing. Very warm slabby weather, but I made a shift to get a walk; yet I lost half of it, by shaking off Lord Rochester, † who is a good, civil, simple man. The Bishop of Ossory ‡ will not be Bishop of Hereford, to the great grief of himself and his wife. And what is MD doing now, I wonder? Playing at

* It cannot be superfluous to compare what Swift here says of the Duchess of Marlborough *flagrante odio*, with the opinion which she entertained of him, and of his politics, many years afterwards. "Dean Swift gives the most exact account of kings, ministers, bishops, and the courts of justice, that is possible to be writ. He has certainly a vast deal of wit; and since he could contribute so much to the pulling down the most honest and best intentioned ministry that ever I knew, with the help only of Abigail, and one or two more; and has certainly stopt the finishing stroke to ruin the Irish, in the project of the halfpence, in spite of all the ministry could do; I could not [cannot] help wishing, that we had had his assistance in the opposition; for I could easily forgive him all the slaps he has given me, and the Duke of Marlborough, and have thanked him heartily, whenever he would please to do good. I never saw him in my life; and though his writings have entertained me very much, yet I see he writes sometimes for interest: for in his books he gives my Lord Oxford as great a character as if he was speaking of Socrates or Marcus Antoninus. But when I am dead, the reverse of that character will come out, with vouchers to it, under his own hand."—*The Opinions of Sarah, Duchess Dowager of Marlborough*, 12mo, 1788, p. 79.

† Henry Hyde, son of Laurence, Earl of Rochester, younger son of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and minister of Charles II. This Henry succeeded to the title of Earl of Clarendon, March 31, 1723, on the death of Edward, the third Earl of Clarendon. He was cousin-german to Queen Anne by her mother's side.

‡ Dr John Harstonge, 1693—1714.

cards with the dean and Mrs Walls? I think it is not certain yet that Macartney is escaped. I am plagued with bad authors verse and prose, who send me their books and poems, the vilest trash I ever saw; but I have given their names to my man, never to let them see me. I have got weak ink, and it is very white; and I don't see that it turns black at all. I'll go to sleep; it is past twelve.—Night, MD.

8. You must understand that I am in my geers, and have got a chocolate-pot, a present from Mrs Ash of Clogher, and some chocolate from my brother Ormond, and I treat folks sometimes. I dined with lord-treasurer at five o'clock to-day, and was by while he and Lord Bolingbroke were at business; for it is fit I should know all that passes now, because, &c. The Duke of Ormond employed me to speak to lord-treasurer to-day about an affair, and I did so; and the Duke spoke himself two hours before; which vexed me, and I will chide the Duke about it. I'll tell you a good thing; there is not one of the ministry but what will employ me, as gravely to speak for them to lord-treasurer, as if I were their brother or his; and I do it as gravely: though I know they do it only because they will not make themselves uneasy, or had rather I should be denied than they. I believe our peace will not be finished these two months; for I think we must have a return from Spain by a messenger, who will not go till Sunday next. Lord-treasurer has invited me to dine with him again to-morrow. Your commissioner, Keatly, is to be there. Night, dearest MD.

9. Dr Pratt drank chocolate with me this morning, and then we walked. I was yesterday with him to see Lady Betty Butler, grieving for her sister Ashburnham. The jade was in bed in form, and

she did so cant, she made me sick. I meet Tom Leigh every day in the Park, to preserve his health. He is as ruddy as a rose, and tells me his bishop of Dromore recovers very much. That bishop has been very near dying. This day's Examiner talks of the play of *What is it like?* and you will think it to be mine, and be bit; for I have no hand in these papers at all. I dined with lord-treasurer, and shall again to-morrow, which is his day when all the ministers dine with him. He calls it whipping day. It is always on Saturday, and we do indeed usually rally him about his faults on that day. I was of the original club, when only poor Lord Rivers, lord-keeper, and Lord Bolingbroke came; but now Ormond, Anglesey, lord-steward, Dartmouth, and other rabble intrude, and I scold at it; but now they pretend as good a title as I; and indeed many Saturdays I am not there. The company being too many, I don't love it. Night, MD.

10. At seven this evening, as we sat after dinner at lord-treasurer's, a servant said Lord Peterborow was at the door. Lord-treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke went out to meet him, and brought him in. He was just returned from abroad, where he has been above a year. As soon as he saw me, he left the Duke of Ormond and other lords, and ran and kissed me before he spoke to them; but chid me terribly for not writing to him, which I never did this last time he was abroad, not knowing where he was; and he changed places so often, it was impossible a letter should overtake him. He left England with a bruise, by his coach overturning, that made him spit blood, and was so ill, we expected every post to hear of his death; but he out-rode it, or outdrank it, or something, and is come home lustier than ever. He is at least sixty, and has more spirits than any young fellow I know of

England. He has got the old Oxford regiment of horse, and I believe will have a garter. I love the hang-dog dearly. Night, dearest MD.

11. The court was crammed to-day, to see the French ambassador; but he did not come. Did I never tell you, that I go to court on Sundays as to a coffee-house, to see acquaintance, whom I should not otherwise see twice a-year? The provost and I dine with Ned Southwell, by appointment, in order to settle your kingdom, if my scheme can be followed; but I doubt our ministry will be too tedious. You must certainly have a new parliament; but they would have that a secret yet. Our parliament here will be prorogued for three weeks. Those puppies the Dutch will not yet come in, though they pretend to submit to the queen in every thing; but they would fain try first how our session begins, in hopes to embroil us in the House of Lords: and if my advice had been taken, the session should have begun, and we would have trusted the parliament to approve the steps already made toward the peace, and had an address perhaps from them to conclude without the Dutch, if they would not agree.—Others are of my mind, but it is not reckoned so safe, it seems; yet I doubt whether the peace will be ready so soon as three weeks, but that is a secret. Night, MD.*

* The ministers were sorely distracted between the reluctance of the Dutch to treat at all, and the artifices of the French to make the most they could of the necessity of a peace to which Britain (or rather the administration) was reduced. Bolingbroke writes to Prior, then at Paris, in the following terms:—"We are now at the true crisis of our disease; we die at once, or recover at once. Let France depart from that shameful expedient, by which they thought to bubble us out of the advantages which they had solemnly yielded, and all is well; otherwise, by God, both

12. Pratt and I walked into the city to one Bateman's, a famous bookseller for old books. There I laid out four pounds like a fool, and we dined at a hedge alehouse, for two shillings and twopence, like emperors. Let me see, I bought Plutarch, two volumes, for thirty shillings, &c. Well, I'll tell you no more; you don't understand Greek. We have no news, and I have nothing more to say to-day, and I can't finish my work. These ministers will not find time to do what I would have them. So night, own dear dailars.

13. I was to have dined to-day with lord-keeper, but would not, because that brute Sir John Walter was to be one of the company. You may remember he railed at me last summer was twelvemonth at Windsor, and has never begged my pardon, though he promised to do it; and Lord Mansel, who was one of the company, would certainly have set us together by the ears, out of pure roguish mischief. So I dined with lord-treasurer, where there was none but Lord Bolingbroke. I staid till eight, and then went to Lady Orkney's, who has been sick, and sat with her till twelve. The parliament was prorogued to-day, as I told you, for three weeks. Our weather is very bad, and slobbery, and I shall spoil my new hat, (I have bought a new hat,) or empty my pockets. Does Hawkshaw pay the interest he owes? Lord Abercorn plagues me to

they and we are undone. The queen can neither delay the meeting of the parliament longer than the 3d, nor speak to the Houses till we hear from you. My compliments to Monsieur de Torcy. Let him know, that if they do not agree to the queen, I may, perhaps, be a refugee. If I am, I promise beforehand to behave myself better in France than the French refugees do here. Make the French ashamed of their sneaking chicane. By Heaven, they treat like pedlars, or, which is worse, like attornies."

death. I have now not above six people to provide for, and about as many to do good offices to; and thrice as many that I will do nothing for; nor can I if I would. Night, dear MD.

14. To-day I took the circle of morning visits. I went to the Duchess of Ormond, and there was she, and Lady Betty, and Lord Ashburnham together: this was the first time the mother and daughter saw each other since Lady Ashburnham's death. They were both in tears, and I chid them for being together, and made Lady Betty go to her own chamber; then sat a while with the Duchess, and went after Lady Betty, and all was well. There is something of farce in all these mournings, let them be ever so serious. People will pretend to grieve more than they really do, and that takes off from their true grief.* I then went to the Duchess of Hamilton, who never grieved, but raged, and stormed, and railed. She is pretty quiet now, but has a diabolical temper. Lord-keeper and his son, and their two ladies, and I, dined to-day with Mr Cæsar, treasurer of the navy, at his house in the city, where he keeps his office. We happened to talk of Brutus, and I said something in his praise, when it struck me immediately that I had made a blunder in doing so; and therefore I recollected myself, and said, Mr Cæsar, I beg your pardon. So we laughed, &c. Night, my own dearest little rogues, MD.

15. I forgot to tell you, that last night I had a

* This maxim is worthy of Rochefoucault. I know not whether it is refining upon it to say, that upon occasions of formal mourning, strangers generally feel more than they expected, and those really afflicted something less. The formality which imposes awe and melancholy upon indifference, distracts the feelings of real grief.

present sent me (I found it when I came home, in my chamber) of the finest wild-fowl I ever saw, with the vilest letter, and from the vilest poet in the world, who sent it me as a bribe to get him an employment. I knew not where the scoundrel lived, so I could not send them back; and therefore I gave them away as freely as I got them, and have ordered my man never to let up the poet when he comes. The rogue should have kept the wings at least for his muse. One of his fowls was a large capon pheasant, as fat as a pullet. I ate share of it to-day with a friend. We have now a drawing-room every Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday, at one o'clock. The queen does not come out; but all her ministers, foreigners, and persons of quality, are at it. I was there to-day; and as lord-treasurer came toward me, I avoided him, and he hunted me thrice about the room. I affect never to take notice of him at church or court. He knows it, for I have told him so; and to-night, at Lord Masham's, he gave an account of it to the company; but my reasons are, that people seeing me speak to him, causes a great deal of teasing. I tell you what comes into my head, that I never knew whether you were Whigs or Tories, and I value our conversation the more, that it never turned on that subject. I have a fancy that Ppt is a Tory, and a rigid one. I don't know why; but methinks she looks like one, and DD a sort of a trimmer. Am I right? I gave the Examiner a hint about this prorogation, and to praise the queen for her tenderness to the Dutch, in giving them still more time to submit. It fitted the occasions at present.

16. I was busy to-day at the secretary's office, and staid till past three. The Duke of Ormond and I were to dine at Lord Orkney's. The Duke was at the committee, so I thought all was safe.

When I went there, they had almost dined; for the Duke had sent to excuse himself, which I never knew. I came home at seven, and began a little whim, which just came into my head; and will make a threepenny pamphlet. It shall be finished and out in a week; and if it succeed, you shall know what it is; otherwise, not. I cannot send this to-morrow, and will put it off till next Saturday, because I have much business. So my journals shall be short, and Ppt must have patience.

17. This rogue Parnell has not yet corrected his poem, and I would fain have it out. I dined to-day with lord-treasurer, and his Saturday's company, nine of us in all. They went away at seven, and lord-treasurer and I sat talking an hour after. After dinner, he was talking to the lords about the speech the queen must make when the parliament meets. He asked me how I would make it? I was going to be serious, because it was seriously put; but I turned it to a jest. And because they had been speaking of the Duchess of Marlborough going to Flanders after the Duke, I said, the speech should begin thus: My Lords and Gentlemen, In order to my own quiet, and that of my subjects, I have thought fit to send the Duchess of Marlborough abroad, after the Duke. This took well, and turned off the discourse. I must tell you, I do not at all like the present situation of affairs, and remember I tell you so. Things must be on another foot, or we are all undone. I hate this driving always to an inch.

18. We had a mighty full court to-day. Dilly was with me at the French church, and edified mightily. Duke of Ormond and I dined at Lord Orkney's; but I left them at seven, and came home to my whim. I have made a great progress. My

large Treatise* stands stock still. Some think it too dangerous to publish, and would have me print only what relates to the peace. I cannot tell what I shall do. The bishop of Dromore is dying.—They thought yesterday he could not live two hours: yet he is still alive, but is utterly past all hopes. Go to cards, dearest MD.

19. I was this morning to see the Duke and Duchess of Ormond. The Duke d'Aumont came in while I was with the Duke of Ormond, and we complimented each other like dragons. A poor fellow called at the door where I lodge, with a parcel of oranges for a present for me. I bid my man learn what his name was, and whence it came. He sent word his name was Bun, and that I knew him very well. I bid my man tell him I was busy, and he could not speak to me; and not to let him leave his oranges. I know no more of it, but I am sure I never heard the name, and I shall take no such presents from strangers. Perhaps he might be only some beggar, who wanted a little money. Perhaps it might be something worse. Let them keep their poison for their rats. I don't love it. That blot† is a blunder. Night, dear MD.

20. A committee of our society dined to-day with the chancellor of the exchequer. Our society does not meet now as usual, for which I am blamed: but till lord-treasurer will agree to give us money and employments to bestow, I am averse to it; and he gives us nothing but promises. Bishop of Dromore is still alive, and that is all. We expect every day he will die, and then Tom Leigh must go back, which is one good thing to the town.

* His History of the Peace of Utrecht.

† A line erased.

I believe Pratt will drive at one of these bishoprics. Our English bishopric* is not yet disposed of. I believe the peace will not be ready by the session.

21. I was to-day with my printer, to give him a little pamphlet I have written, but not politics. It will be out by Monday. If it succeeds, I will tell you of it; otherwise not. We had a prodigious thaw to-day, as bad as rain; yet I walked like a good boy all the way. The bishop of Dromore still draws breath, but cannot live two days longer. My large book lies flat. Some people think a great part of it ought not to be now printed. I believe I told you so before. This letter shall not go till Saturday, which makes up the three weeks exactly, and I allow MD six weeks, which are now almost out; so you must know I expect a letter very soon, and that MD is very well; and so night, dear MD.

22. This is one of our court days, and I was there. I told you there is a drawing-room Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The Hamiltons and Abercorns have done teasing me. The latter, I hear, is actually going to France. Lord-treasurer quarrelled with me at court, for being four days without dining with him; so I dined there to-day, and he has at last fallen in with my project (as he calls it) of coining halfpence and farthings with devices, like medals, in honour of the queen, every year changing the device. I wish it may be done. Night, MD.

23. Duke of Ormond and I appointed to dine with Ned Southwell to-day, to talk of settling your affairs of parliament in Ireland, but there was a mixture of company, and the Duke of Ormond was in

* That of Hereford, vacant by the death of Dr Humphry Humphreys, on the 20th of November, 1712.

haste, and nothing was done. If your parliament meets this summer, it must be a new one; but I find some are of opinion there should be none at all these two years. I will trouble myself no more about it. My design was to serve the Duke of Ormond. Dr Pratt and I sat this evening with the bishop of Clogher, and played at ombre for three-pence. That I suppose is but low with you. I found, at coming home, a letter from MD, N. 37. I shall not answer it this bout, but will the next. I am sorry for poor Ppt. Pray walk if you can. I have got a terrible new cold, before my old one was quite gone, and don't know how. **** I shall have DD's money soon from the exchequer. The bishop of Dromore is dead now at last. Night, MD.

24. I was at court to-day, and it was comical to see Lord Abercorn bowing to me, but not speaking, and Lord Selkirk the same. I dined with lord-treasurer, and his Saturday club, and sat with him two hours after the rest were gone, and spoke freer to him of affairs than I am afraid others do, who might do more good. All his friends repine, and shrug their shoulders; but will not deal with him so freely as they ought. It is an odd business; the parliament just going to sit, and no employments given. They say they will give them in a few days. There is a new bishop made of Hereford;* so Ossory is disappointed. I hinted so to his friends two months ago, to make him leave off deluding himself, and being indiscreet, as he was. I have just time to send this, without giving it to the bellman. My second cold is better now.—Night, dearest little MD, FW, Me, Lele.

* Dr Bisse was transferred to it from the see of St David's.

LETTER LIX.

London, Jan. 25, 1712-1713.

WE had such a terrible storm to-day, that going to Lord Bolingbroke's, I saw a hundred tiles fallen down; and one swinger fell about forty yards before me, that would have killed a horse: so, after church and court, I walked through the Park, and took a chair to lord-treasurer's. Next door to his house, a tin chimney-top had fallen down, with a hundred bricks. It is grown calm this evening. I wonder had you such a wind to-day? I hate it as much as any hog does. Lord-treasurer has engaged me to dine again with him to-morrow. He has those tricks sometimes of inviting me from day to-day, which I am forced to break through. My little pamphlet is out: 'tis not politics. If it takes, I say again you shall hear of it.

26. This morning I felt a little touch of giddiness, which has disordered and weakened me with its ugly remains all this day. **** After dinner at lord-treasurer's, the French ambassador, Duke d'Aumont, sent lord-treasurer word, that his house was burnt down to the ground. It took fire in the upper rooms, while he was at dinner with Monteleon, the Spanish ambassador, and other persons; and soon after Lord Bolingbroke came to us with the same story. We are full of speculations upon it, but I believe it was the carelessness of his French rascally servants. It is odd that this very day Lord Somers, Wharton, Sunderland, Halifax, and the whole club of Whig lords, dined at Pontac's in the city, as I received private notice. They have some

damned design. I tell you another odd thing; I was observing it to lord-treasurer, that he was stabbed on the day king William died; and the day I saved his life, by opening the band-box, was king William's birth-day. My friend Mr Lewis* has had a lie spread on him by the mistake of a man, who went to another of his name, to give him thanks for passing his privy seal to come from France. That other Lewis spread about, that the man brought him thanks from Lord Perth and Lord Melfort, (two lords with the pretender,) for his great services, &c. The Lords will examine that other Lewis to-morrow, in council; and I believe you will hear of it in the prints, for I will make Abel Roper give a relation of it. Pray tell me if it be necessary to write a little plainer; for I looked over a bit of my last letter, and could hardly read it. I'll mend my hand, if you please: but "you are more used to it *nor* I," as Mr Raymond says. Night, MD.

27. I dined to-day with lord-treasurer: this makes four days together; and he has invited me again to-morrow, but I absolutely refused him. I was this evening at a christening with him of Lord Dupplin's daughter. He went away at ten; but they kept me and some others till past twelve; so you may be sure 'tis late, as they say. We have now stronger suspicions that the Duke d'Aumont's house was set on fire by malice. I was to-day to see Lord-keeper, who has quite lost his voice with a cold. There Dr Radcliffe told me, that it was the ambassador's confectioner set the house on fire

* Erasmus Lewis, secretary to the Earl of Dartmouth, one of the secretaries of state, and afterward to the Earl of Oxford. Swift's narrative of this matter may be found in this volume.

by-boiling sugar, and going down and letting it boil over. Yet others still think differently; so I know not what to judge. Night, my own dearest MD.

28. I was to-day at court, where the ambassador talked to me as if he did not suspect any design in burning d'Aumont's house: but Abbé Gautier, secretary for France here, said quite otherwise; and that d'Aumont had a letter the very same day, to let him know his house should be burnt, and tells several other circumstances too tedious to write. One is, that a fellow mending the tiles just when the fire broke out, saw a pot with wildfire in the room.* I dined with Lord Orkney. Neither Lord Abercorn nor Selkirk will now speak with me. I have disoblged both sides. Night, dear MD.

29. Our society met to-day, fourteen of us, and at a tavern. We now resolve to meet but once a fortnight, and have a committee every other week of six or seven, to consult about doing some good. I proposed another message to lord-treasurer by three principal members, to give a hundred guineas to a certain person, and they are to urge it as well as they can. We also raised sixty guineas upon our own society; but I made them do it by assessors, and I was one of them, and we fitted our tax to the several estates. The Duke of Ormond pays ten guineas, and I the third part of a guinea; at that rate, they may tax as often as they please. Well, but I must answer your letter, young women: not yet; it is late now, and I can't find it. Night, dearest MD.

30. I have drank Spa waters these two or three

* It was a shocking peculiarity of that time, that every casualty was held to be the result of a plot.

days; but they do not pass, and make me very giddy. I am not well; faith, I will take them no more. I sauntered after church with the provost to-day, to see a library to be sold, and dined at five with Lord Orkney. We still think there was malice in burning d'Aumont's house. I hear little Harrison is come over; it was he I sent to Utrecht. He is now queen's secretary to the embassy, and has brought with him the Barrier Treaty, as it is now corrected by us, and yielded to by the Dutch, which was the greatest difficulty to retard the peace. I hope he will bring over the peace a month hence, for we will send him back as soon as possible. I long to see the little brat, my own creature. His pay is in all a thousand pounds a-year, and they have never paid him a groat, though I have teased their hearts out. He must be three or four hundred pounds in debt at least. Poor brat! Let me go to bed, sirrahs.—Night, dear MD.

31. Harrison was with me this morning; we talked three hours, and then I carried him to court. When we went down to the door of my lodging, I found a coach waited for him. I chid him for it; but he whispered me it was impossible to do otherwise; and in the coach he told me he had not one farthing in his pocket to pay it; and therefore took the coach for the whole day, and intended to borrow money somewhere or other. So there was the queen's minister intrusted in affairs of the greatest importance, without a shilling in his pocket to pay a coach! I paid him while he was with me seven guineas, in part of a dozen of shirts he bought me in Holland. I presented him to the Duke of Ormond, and several lords at court; and I contrived it so, that lord-treasurer came to me, and asked (I had Parnell by me) whether that was Dr Parnell, and came up and spoke to him with great kindness,

and invited him to his house. I value myself upon making the ministry desire to be acquainted with Parnell, and not Parnell with the ministry. His poem is almost fully corrected, and shall be soon out. Here is enough for to-day : only to tell you, that I was in the city with my printer to alter an Examiner about my friend Lewis's story, which will be told with remarks.

Sunday, February 1. I could do nothing till to-day about the Examiner, but the printer came this morning, and I dictated to him what was fit to be said, and then Mr Lewis came, and corrected it as he would have it ; so I was neither at church nor court. The Duke of Ormond and I dined at Lord Orkney's. I left them at seven, and sat with Sir Andrew Fountaine, who has a very bad sore leg, for which he designs to go to France. Here is a week gone, and one side of this letter not finished. O, but I will write now but once in three weeks. — Yes, faith, this shall go sooner. The parliament is to sit on the third, but will adjourn for three or four days ; for the queen is laid up with the gout, and both speakers out of order, though one of them, the lord-keeper, is almost well. I spoke to the Duke of Ormond a good deal about Ireland. We do not altogether agree, nor am I judge enough of Irish affairs ; but I will speak to lord-treasurer to-morrow, that we three may settle some way or other.

2. I had a letter some days ago from Molly Gery ; her name is now Wigmore, and her husband is turned parson. She desires nothing, but that I would get lord-keeper to give him a living ; but I will send her no answer, though she desires it much. She still makes mantuas at Farnham. It rained all this day, and Dilly came to me, and was coaching it into the city ; so I went with him for a shaking, because it would not cost me a farthing. There I

met my friend Stratford, the merchant, who is going abroad to gather up his debts, and be clear in the world. He begged that I would dine with some merchant friends of ours there, because it was the last time I should see him : so I did, and thought to have seen lord-treasurer in the evening, but he happened to go out at five; so I visited some friends, and came home. And now I have the greatest part of your letter to answer; and yet I will not do it to-night, say what you please. The parliament meets to-morrow, but will be prorogued for a fortnight; which disappointment, will, I believe, vex abundance of them, though they are not Whigs; for they are forced to be in town at expense for nothing: but we want an answer from Spain, before we are sure of every thing being right for the peace; and God knows whether we can have that answer this month. It is a most ticklish juncture of affairs; we are always driving to an inch: I am weary of it. Night, MD.

3. The parliament met, and was prorogued, as I said, and I found some cloudy faces, and heard some grumbling. We have got over all our difficulties with France, I think. They have now settled all the articles of commerce between us and them, wherein they were very much disposed to play the rogue if we had not held them to; and this business we wait for from Spain, is to prevent some other rogueries of the French, who are finding an evasion to trade to the Spanish West Indies: but I hope we shall prevent it. I dined with lord-treasurer, and he was in good humour enough. I gave him that part of my book in manuscript to read, where his character was, and drawn pretty freely. He was reading and correcting it with his

pencil, when the Bishop of St David's* (now removing to Hereford) came and interrupted us. I left him at eight, and sat till twelve with the provost and bishop of Clogher.

[Wednesday] 4. I was to-day at court, but kept out of lord-treasurer's way, because I was engaged to the Duke of Ormond, where I dined, and, I think, eat and drank too much. I sat this evening with Lady Masham, and then with Lord Masham and lord-treasurer at Lord Masham's. It was last year, you may remember, my constant evening place. I saw Lady Jersey with Lady Masham, who has been laying out for my acquaintance, and has forced a promise for me to drink chocolate with her in a day or two, which I know not whether I shall perform, (I have just mended my pen, you see,) for I do not much like her character; but she is very malicious, and therefore I think I must keep fair with her. I cannot send this letter till Saturday next, I find; so I will answer yours now. I see no different days of the month; yet it is dated January 3. So it was long a coming. I did not write to Dr Coghill that I would have nothing in Ireland; but that I was soliciting nothing any where, and that is true. I have named Dr Sterne† to lord-treasurer, Lord Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormond, for a bishopric, and I did it heartily. I know not what will come of it; but I tell you as a great secret, that I have made the Duke of Ormond promise me to recommend nobody till he tells me, and this for some reasons too long to mention. My head is still in no good order. I am heartily sorry for Ppt. I am sure her head is good for

* Dr Philip Bisse.

† Dean of St Patrick's.

***. I'll answer more to-morrow. Night, dearest MD.

5. [6.] I must go on with your letter. I dined to-day with Sir Andrew Fountaine and the provost, and played at ombre with him all the afternoon. I won, yet Sir Andrew is an admirable player. Lord Pembroke came in, and I gave him three or four scurvy Dilly puns, that begin with an *if*. Well, but your letter, well, let me see.—No; I believe I shall write no more this good while, nor publish what I have done. **** I did not suspect you would tell Filby. You are so ****. Turns and visitations—what are these? I'll preach and visit as much for Mr Walls. Pray God mend people's health; mine is but very indifferent. I have left off Spa water; it makes my legs swell. Night, dearest MD.

6. [7.] This is the queen's birth-day, and I never saw it celebrated with so much hurry and fine clothes. I went to court to see them, and I dined with lord-keeper, where the ladies were fine to admiration. I passed the evening at Mrs Vanhomrigh's, and came home pretty early, to answer your letter again. Pray God keep the queen. She was very ill about ten days ago, and had the gout in her stomach. When I came from lord-keeper's, I called at lord-treasurer's, because I heard he was very fine, and that was a new thing; and it was true, for his coat and waistcoat were embroidered. I have seen the provost often since, and never spoke to him to speak to the Temples about Daniel Carr, nor will; I don't care to do it. I have writ lately to Parvisol. You did well to let him make up his accompts. All things grow dear in Ireland, but corn to the parsons; for my livings are fallen much this year by Parvisol's account. Night, dearest rogues, MD.

7. [8.] I was at court to-day, but saw no birthday clothes; the great folks never wear them above once or twice. I dined with Lord Orkney, and sat the evening with Sir Andrew Fountaine, whose leg is in a very dubious condition. Pray let me know when DD's money is near due: always let me know it beforehand. This, I believe, will hardly go till Saturday; for I tell you what, being not very well, I dare not study much: so I let company come in a morning, and the afternoon pass in dining and sitting somewhere. Lord-treasurer is angry, if I don't dine with him every second day, and I cannot part with him till late: he kept me last night till near twelve. Our weather is constant rain above these two months, which hinders walking, so that our spring is not like yours. I have not seen Fanny Manley yet; I cannot find time. I am in rebellion with all my acquaintance, but I will mend with my health and the weather. Clogher make a figure! Clogher make a ———. Colds! why we have been all dying with colds; but now they are a little off, and my second is almost off. I can do nothing for Swanton indeed. It is a thing impossible, and wholly out of my way. If he buys, he must buy. So now I have answered your letter; and there's an end of that now; and I'll say no more, but bid you night, dear MD.

8. [9.] It was terrible rainy to-day from morning till night. I intended to have dined with lord-treasurer, but went to see Sir Andrew Fountaine, and he kept me to dinner, which saved coach-hire; and I staid with him all the afternoon, and lost thirteen shillings and sixpence at ombre. There was management! and lord-treasurer will chide; but I'll dine with him to-morrow. The Bishop of Clogher's daughter has been ill some days, and it proves the small-pox. She is very full; but it comes out well,

and they apprehend no danger. Lady Orkney has given me her picture; a very fine original of Sir Godfrey Kneller's; it is now a mending. He has favoured her squint admirably; and you know I love a cast in the eye. I was to see Lady Worsley to-day, who is just come to town; she is full of rheumatic pains. All my acquaintance grow old and sickly. She lodges in the very house in King-street, between St James's street and St James's square, where DD's brother bought the sweetbread, when I lodged there, and DD came to see me. Short ****. Night, MD.

9. [10.] I thought to have dined with lord-treasurer to-day, but he dined abroad at Tom Harley's; so I dined at Lord Masham's, and was winning all I had lost playing with Lady Masham at crown piquet, when we went to pools, and I lost it again. Lord-treasurer came in to us, and chid me for not following him to Tom Harley's. Miss Ashe is still the same, and they think her not in danger; my man calls there daily after I am gone out, and tells me at night. I was this morning to see Lady Jersey, and we have made twenty parties about dining together, and I shall hardly keep one of them. She is reduced after all her greatness to seven servants, and a small house, and no coach. I like her tolerably as yet. Night, MD.

10. [11.] I made visits this morning to the Duke and Duchess of Ormond, and Lady Betty, and the Duchess of Hamilton. (When I was writing this near twelve o'clock, the Duchess of Hamilton sent to have me dine with her to-morrow. I am forced to give my answer through the door, for my man has got the key, and is gone to-bed; but I cannot obey her, for our society meets to-morrow.) I stole away from lord-treasurer by eight, and intended to have passed the evening with Sir Thomas Clarges

and his lady ; but met them in another place, and have there sate till now. My head has not been ill to-day. I was at court, and made Lord Mansel walk with me in the Park before we went to dinner.—Yesterday and to-day have been fair, but yet it rained all last night. I saw Sterne staring at court to-day. He has been often to see me, he says : but my man has not yet let him up. He is in deep mourning ; I hope it is not for his wife. I did not ask him. Night, MD.

12. I have reckoned days wrong all this while ; * for this is the twelfth. I do not know when I lost it. I dined to-day with our society, the greatest dinner I have ever seen. It was at Jack Hill's, the governor of Dunkirk. I gave an account of sixty guineas I had collected, and am to give them away to two authors to-morrow ; and lord-treasurer has promised me a hundred pounds to reward some others. I found a letter on my table last night, to tell me, that poor little Harrison, the queen's secretary that came lately from Utrecht with the Barrier Treaty, was ill, and desired to see me at night ; but it was late, and I could not go till to-day. I have often mentioned him in my letters, you may remember. **** I went in the morning, and found him mighty ill, and got thirty guineas for him from Lord Bolingbroke, and an order for a hundred pounds from the treasury to be paid him to-morrow ; and I have got him removed to Knightsbridge for the air. He has a fever and inflammation on his lungs ; but I hope will do well. Night, MD.

13. I was to see a poor poet, one Mr Diaper, in a nasty garret, very sick. I gave him twenty gui-

* He had omitted Thursday the fifth.

neas from Lord Bolingbroke, and disposed the other sixty to two other authors, and desired a friend to receive the hundred pounds for poor Harrison, and will carry it to him to-morrow morning. I sent to see how he did, and he is extremely ill; and I am very much afflicted for him, as he is my own creature, and in a very honourable post, and very worthy of it. I dined in the city. I am much concerned for this poor lad. His mother and sister attend him, and he wants nothing. Night, dear MD.

14. I took Parnell this morning, and we walked to see poor Harrison. I had the hundred pounds in my pocket. I told Parnell I was afraid to knock at the door; my mind misgave me. I knocked; and his man in tears told me his master was dead an hour before. Think what grief this is to me! I went to his mother, and have been ordering things for his funeral with as little cost as possible, to-morrow at ten at night. Lord-treasurer was much concerned when I told him. I could not dine with lord-treasurer, nor any where else; but got a bit of meat toward evening. No loss ever grieved me so much: poor creature! Pray God Almighty bless poor MD. Adieu. I send this away to-night, and am sorry it must go while I am in so much grief.

LETTER LX.

London, Feb. 15, 1712-13.

I DINED to-day with Mr Rowe and a projector, who has been teasing me with twenty schemes to

get grants; and I don't like one of them; and, besides, I was out of humour for the loss of poor Harrison. At ten this night I was at his funeral, which I ordered to be as private as possible. We had but one coach with four of us; and when it was carrying us home after the funeral, the braces broke; and we were forced to sit in it, and have it held up, till my man went for chairs, at eleven at night in terrible rain. I am come home very melancholy, and will go to bed. Night, dearest MD.

16. I dined to-day with Lord Dupplin and some company to divert me; but left them early, and have been reading a book for amusement. I shall never have courage again to care for making any body's fortune. The parliament meets to-morrow, and will be prorogued another fortnight, at which several of both parties were angry; but it cannot be helped, though every thing about the peace is past all danger. I never saw such a continuance of rainy weather. We have not had two fair days together these ten weeks. I have not dined with lord-treasurer these four days, nor can I till Saturday; for I have several engagements till then, and he will chide me to some purpose. I am perplexed with this hundred pounds of poor Harrison's, what to do with it. I cannot pay his relations till they administer, for he is much in debt; but I will have the staff in my own hands, and venture nothing. Night, dear MD.

17. Lady Jersey and I dined by appointment to day with Lord Bolingbroke. He is sending his brother to succeed Mr Harrison. It is the prettiest post in Europe for a young gentleman. I lost my money at ombre sadly; I make a thousand blunders at it. I play but threepenny ombre; but it is what you call running ombre. Lady Clarges, and a drab I hate, won a dozen shillings of me last

night. The parliament was prorogued to-day; and people grumble; and the good of it is the peace cannot be finished by the time they meet, there are so many fiddling things to do. Is Ppt an ombre lady yet? You know all the tricks of it now, I suppose. I reckon you have all your cards from France. for ours pay sixpence a pack taxes, which goes deep to the box. I have given away all my Spa water, and take some nasty steel drops, and my head has been better this week past. I send every day to see how Miss Ashe does: she is very full, they say, but in no danger I fear she will lose some of her beauty. The son lies out of the house. I wish he had them too, while he is so young.—Night, MD.

18. The Earl of Abingdon had been teasing me these three months to dine with him; and this day was appointed about a week ago, and I named my company; Lord Stawell, colonel Disney, and Dr Arbuthnot; but the two last slipped out their necks, and left Stawell and me to dine there. We did not dine till seven, because it is Ash Wednesday. We had nothing but fish, which Lord Stawell could not eat, and got a broiled leg of a turkey. Our wine was poison; yet the puppy has twelve thousand pounds a year. His carps were raw, and his candles tallow. He shall not catch me in haste again, and every body has laughed at me for dining with him. I was to-day to let Harrison's mother know I could not pay till she administers; which she will do. I believe she is an old devil, and her daughter a ——. There were more Whigs to-day at court than Tories. I believe they think the peace must be made, and so come to please the queen. She is still lame with the gout.

19. I was at court to-day, to speak to Lord Bolingbroke, to look over Parnell's poem since it is cor-

rected; and Parnell and I dined with him, and he has shown him three or four more places to alter a little. Lady Bolingbroke came down to us while we were at dinner, and Parnell stared at her as if she were a goddess. I thought she was like Parnell's wife, and he thought so too. Parnell is much pleased with Lord Bolingbroke's favour to him, and I hope it may one day turn to his advantage. His poem will be printed in a few days. Our weather continues as fresh raining as if it had not rained at all. I sat to-night at Lady Masham's, where lord-treasurer came and scolded me for not dining with him. I told him, I could not till Saturday. I have staid there till past twelve; so night, dear MD.

20. Lady Jersey, Lady Catherine Hyde,* the Spanish ambassador, the Duke d'Etrées, another Spaniard, and I, dined to-day by appointment with Lord Bolingbroke; but they fell a drinking so many Spanish healths in champaign, that I stole away to the ladies, and drank tea till eight; and then went and lost my money at ombre with Sir Andrew Fountaine, who has a very bad leg. Miss Ashe is past all danger; and her eye, which was lately bad, (I suppose one effect of her distemper,) is now better. I do not let the bishop see me, nor shall this good while. Good-lack! when I came home, I warrant, I found a letter from MD, No. 38; and you write so small now-a-days. I hope your poor eyes are better. Well, this shall go to-morrow se'ennight, with a bill for Me. I will speak to Mr Griffin to-morrow, about Ppt's brother Filby, and desire, whether he deserves or no, that his employment may be mended, that is to say, if I see Grif-

* Afterward Duchess of Queensberry.

fin; otherwise not; and I'll answer MD's letter, when I Pdfr think fit. Night, MD.

21. Methinks I writ a little saucy last night. I mean the last ****. I saw Griffin at court. He says he knows nothing of a salt-work at Recton; but that he will give Filby a better employment, and desires Filby will write to him. If I knew where to write to Filby. I would; but pray do you. Bid him make no mention of you; but only let Mr Griffin know, "that he has had the honour to be recommended by Dr Swift, &c. that he will endeavour to deserve," &c. and if you dictated a whole letter for him. it would be better; I hope he can write and spell well. I'll inquire for a direction to Griffin before I finish this. I dined with lord-treasurer and seven lords to-day. You know Saturday is his great day. I sat with them till eight, and then came home, and have been writing a letter to Mrs Davis, at York. She took care to have a letter delivered for me at lord-treasurer's; for I would not own one she sent by post. She reproaches me for not writing to her these four years; and I have honestly told her, it was my way never to write to those whom I am never likely to see, unless I can serve them, which I cannot her, &c. Davis the schoolmaster's widow. Night, MD.

22. I dined to-day at Lord-Orkney's, with the Duke of Ormond and Sir Thomas Haumer.* Have you ever heard of the latter? He married the Duchess of Grafton in his youth (she dined with us too.) He is the most considerable man in the House of

* Sir Thomas Haumer of Milden Hall, in Suffolk, Bart. He married Isabella, daughter and heir of Bennet, Earl of Arlington, and relict of Henry, first Duke of Grafton, natural son of Charles II, who was killed before Cork in 1690.

Commons. He went last spring to Flanders, with the Duke of Ormond; from thence to France, and was going to Italy; but the ministry sent for him, and he has been come over about ten days. He is much out of humour with things: he thinks the peace is kept off too long; and is full of fears and doubts. It is thought he is designed for secretary of state, instead of Lord Dartmouth. We have been acquainted these two years; and I intend, in a day or two, to have an hour's talk with him on affairs. I saw the bishop of Clogher at court, Miss is recovering. I know not how much she will be marked. The queen is slowly mending of her gout, and intends to be brought in a chair to parliament when it meets, which will be March 3; for I suppose they will prorogue no more; yet the peace will not be signed then, and we apprehend the Tories themselves will many of them be discontented. Night, dear MD.

23. It was ill weather to-day, and I dined with Sir Andrew Fountaine, and in the evening played at ombre with him and the provost, and won twenty-five shillings; so I have recovered myself pretty well. Dilly has been dunning me to see Fanny Manley; but I have not yet been able to do it. Miss Ashe is now quite out of danger; and they hope will not be much marked. I cannot tell how to direct to Griffin; and think he lives in Bury street, near St James's street, hard by me; but I suppose your brother may direct to him to the salt-office, and, as I remember, he knows his Christian name, because he sent it me in the list of the commissioners. Night, dear MD.

24. I walked this morning to Chelsea, to see Dr Atterbury, dean of Christchurch. I had business with him about entering Mr Fitz-Maurice, Lord Kerry's son, into his college; and Lady Kerry is a

great favourite of mine. Lord Harley, Lord Dupplin, young Bromley the speaker's son, and I, dined with Dr Stratford and some other clergymen ; but I left them at seven, to go to Lady Jersey, to see Monteleon the Spanish ambassador play at ombre. Lady Jersey was abroad, and I chid the servants, and made a rattle ; but since I came home, she sent me a message, that I was mistaken, and that the meeting is to be to-morrow. I have a worse memory than when I left you, and every day forget appointments ; but here my memory was by chance too good. But I'll go to-morrow ; for Lady Catharine Hyde and Lady Bolingbroke are to be there by appointment, and I lifted up my periwig, and all, to make a figure. Well, who can help it ? Not I, vow to Heaven ! Night, MD.

25. Lord-treasurer met me last night at Lord Masham's, and thanked me for my company in a jeer, because I had not dined with him in three days. He chides me if I stay away but two days together. What will this come to ? Nothing. My grandmother used to say,

More of your lining,
And less of your dining.

However, I dined with him, and could hardly leave him at eight, to go to Lady Jersey's, where five or six foreign ministers were, and as many ladies. Monteleon played like the English, and cried gacco, and knocked his nuckles for trump, and played at small games like Ppt. Lady Jersey whispered me to stay, and sup with the ladies when the fellows were gone ; but they played till eleven, and I would not stay. I think this letter must go on Saturday ; that's certain ; and it is not half full yet. Lady Catharine Hyde had a mighty mind I should be ac-

quainted with Lady Dalkeith, her sister, the Duke of Monmouth's eldest son's widow, * who was of the company to night ; but I did not like her ; she paints too much. Night. MD.

26. This day our society met at the Duke of Ormond's ; but I had business that called me another way ; so I sent my excuses. and dined privately with a friend. Besides, Sir Thomas Hanmer whispered me last night at Lady Jersey's, that I must attend lord-treasurer and Duke of Ormond at supper, at his house to-night ; which I did at eleven, and staid till one, so you may be sure it is late enough. There was the Duchess of Grafton, and the Duke her son ; nine of us in all. Duke of Ormond chid me for not being at the society to-day, and said sixteen were there. I said I never knew sixteen people good company in my life ; no, faith, nor eight neither. We have no news in this town at all. I wonder why I don't write you news. I know less of what passes than any body, because I go to no coffeehouse, nor see any but ministers, and such people ; and ministers never talk politics in conversation. The Whigs are forming great schemes against the meeting of parliament, which will be next Tuesday, I still think, without fail ; and we hope to hear by then, that the peace is ready to sign. The queen's gout mends daily. Night. MD.

27. I passed a very insipid day, and dined privately with a friend in the neighbourhood. Did I tell you, that I have a very fine picture of Lady Orkney, † an original, by Sir Godfrey Kneller, three

* Lady Henrietta Hyde, mother to Francis, second Duke of Buccleuch.

† Dr Swift bequeathed this picture to John Earl of Orrery, who married Lady Orkney's daughter.

quarters length? I have it now at home, with a fine frame. Lord Bolingbroke and Lady Masham have promised to sit for me; but I despair of lord-treasurer; only I hope he will give me a copy, and then I shall have all the pictures of those I really love here; just half-a-dozen; only I will make lord-keeper give me his print in a frame. This letter must go to-morrow, because of sending Me a bill; else it should not till next week, I assure you. I have little to do now with my pen; for my grand business* stops till they are more pressing, and till something or other happens; and I believe I shall return with disgust to finish it, it is so very laborious. Sir Thomas Hanmer has my papers now. You are now at ombre with the dean, always on Friday night with Mrs Walls. Pray don't play at small games. I stood by, the other night, while the Duke d'Etrées lost six times with manilio, basto, and threesmall trumps; and Lady Jersey won above twenty pounds. Night, dear MD.

28. I was at court to-day, when the Abbé Gauthier whispered me, that a courier was just come with an account, that the French king had consented to all the queen's demands, and his consent was carried to Utrecht, and the peace will be signed in a few days. I suppose the general peace cannot be so soon ready; but that is no matter. The news presently ran about the court. I saw the queen carried out in her chair, to take the air in the garden. I met Griffin at court, and he told me that orders were sent to examine Filby; and, if he be fit, to make him (I think he called it) an assistant; I don't know what, supervisor, I think; but it is

some employment a good deal better than his own. The parliament will have another short prorogation, though it is not known yet. I dined with lord-treasurer and his Saturday company, and left him at eight to put this in the post-office time enough. And now I must bid you farewell, dearest rogues. God bless dear MD; and love Pdfr. Farewell, MD, FW, Me, Lele.

LETTER LXI.

London, March 1, 1712-13.

It is out of my head whether I answered all your letter in my last yesterday or no. I think I was in haste, and could not: but now I see I answered a good deal of it; no, only about your brother, and Me's bill. I dined with Lady Orkney, and we talked politics till eleven at night; and, as usual, found every thing wrong, and put ourselves out of humour. Yes, I have Lady Giffard's picture sent me by your mother. It is boxed up at a place where my other things are. I have goods in two or three places; and when I leave a lodging, I box up the books I get, (for I always get some,) and come naked into a new lodging; and so on. Talk not to me of deaneries; I know less of that than ever by much. Night, MD.

2. I went into the city to see Pat Rolt, who lodges with a city cousin, a daughter of cousin Cleve; (you are much the wiser.) I had never

been at her house before. My he-cousin Thomson the butcher is dead, or dying. I dined with my printer, and walked home, and went to sit with Lady Charges. I found four of them at whist; Lady Godolphin was one. I sat by her, and talked of her cards, &c. but she would not give one look, nor say a word to me. She refused some time ago to be acquainted with me. You know she is Lord Marlborough's eldest daughter. She is a fool for her pains, and I'll pull her down. What can I do for Dr Smith's daughter's husband? I have no personal credit with any of the commissioners. I will speak to Keatley; but I believe it will signify nothing. In the customs people must rise by degrees, and he must at first take what is very low, if he be qualified for that. Ppt mistakes me; I am not angry at your recommending any one to me, provided you will take my answer. Some things are in my way, and then I serve those I can. But people will not distinguish, but take things ill, when I have no power; but Ppt is wiser. And employments in general are very hard to be got. Night, MD.

3. I dined to-day with lord-treasurer, who chid me for my absence, which was only from Saturday last. The parliament was again prorogued for a week, and I suppose the peace will be ready by then, and the queen will be able to be brought to the house, and make her speech. I saw Dr Griffith two or three months ago, at a Latin play at Westminster; but did not speak to him. I hope he will not die; I should be sorry for Ppt's sake; he is very tender of her. I have long lost all my colds, and the weather mends a little. I take some steel drops, and my head is pretty well. I walk when I can, but am grown very idle; and, not finishing my thing, I ramble abroad and play at ombre. I shall be more careful in my physic than Mrs Price;

'tis not a farthing matter her dear th ~~th~~ ^h, I think ; and so I say no more to-night, but will ~~ret~~ ^{read} a dull book, and go sleep. Night, dear MD.

4. Mr Ford has been this half year ~~inviting me~~ to dine at his lodgings : so I did to-day, and brought the provost and Dr Parnell with me, and my friend Lewis was there. Parnell went away, and the other three played at ombre. and I looked on ; which I love, and would not play. Tisdall is a pretty fellow, as you say ; and when I come back to Ireland with nothing, he will condole with me with abundance of secret pleasure. I believe I told you what he wrote to me, " That I have saved England, and he Ireland ;" but I can bear that I have learned to hear and see, and say nothing. I was to see the Duchess of Hamilton to-day, and met Blith of Ireland just going out of her house into his coach. I asked her how she came to receive young fellows. It seems he had a ball in the Duke of Hamilton's house when the Duke died ; and the Duchess got an advertisement put in the Postboy, reflecting on the ball, because the Marlborough daughters were there ; and Blith came to beg the Duchess's pardon, and clear himself. He is a sad dog. Night, dear MD.

5. Lady Masham has miscarried ; but is almost well again. I have paid many visits to-day. I met Blith at the Duke of Ormond's ; and he begged me to carry him to the Duchess of Hamilton, to beg her pardon again. I did on purpose to see how the blunderbuss behaved himself ; but I begged the Duchess to use him mercifully, for she is the devil of a teaser. The good of it is, she ought to beg his pardon, for he meant no harm ; yet she would not allow him to put in an advertisement to clear himself from hers, though hers was all a lie. He appealed to me, and I gravely gave it against

him. I was at court to-day, and the foreign ministers have got a trick of employing me to speak for them to lord-treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke; which I do when the case is reasonable. The college need not fear; I will not be their governor. I dined with Sir Thomas Hanmer and his Duchess. The Duke of Ormond was there, but we parted soon, and I went to visit Lord Pembroke for the first time; but it was to see some curious books. Lord Cholmondeley came in; but I would not talk to him, though he made many advances. I hate the scoundrel for all he is your Griffith's friend.— Yes, yes, I am abused enough, if that be all. Night, MD.

6. I was to-day at an auction of pictures with Pratt, and laid out two pounds five shillings for a picture of Titian, and if it were a Titian it would be worth twice as many pounds.* If I am cheated, I'll part with it to Lord Masham: if it be a bargain, I'll keep it to myself. That's my conscience. But I made Pratt buy several pictures for Lord Masham. Pratt is a great virtuoso that way. I dined with lord-treasurer, but made him go to court at eight. I always tease him to be gone. I thought to have made Parnell dine with him, but he was ill; his head is out of order like mine, but more constant, poor boy!—I was at lord-treasurer's levee with the provost, to ask a book for the college.—I never go to his levee, unless it be to present somebody.

7. Yes, I hope Leigh will soon be gone, a p--- on him! I met him once, and he talked gravely to

* Admitting the picture to have been a tolerable copy, we have here another curious instance of the low price of paintings, contrasted with that of the present day.

me of not seeing the Irish bishops here, and the Irish gentlemen ; but I believe my answers fretted him enough. I would not dine with lord-treasurer to-day, though it was Saturday (for he has engaged me for to-morrow ;) but went and dined with Lord Masham, and played at ombre, sixpenny running ombre, for three hours. There were three voles against me, and I was once a great loser, but came off for three shillings and sixpence. One may easily lose five guineas at it. Lady Orkney is gone out of town to-day, and I could not see her for laziness, but wrote to her. She has left me some physic.— I knew MD's politics before, and I think it pretty extraordinary, and a great compliment to you, and I believe never three people conversed so much with so little politics. I avoid all conversation with the other party ; it is not to be borne, and I am sorry for it. O yes, things are very dear. DD must come in at last with her two eggs a penny. There the provost was well applied. Parvisol has sent me a bill of fifty pounds, as I ordered him, which, I hope, will serve me, and bring me over. Pray God MD does not be delayed for it ; but I have had very little from him this long time. I was not at court to-day ; a wonder ! Night, dear MD. Love Pdfr.

8. You must know, I give chocolate almost every day to two or three people that I suffer to come to see me in a morning. My man begins to lie pretty well. 'Tis nothing for people to be denied ten times. My man knows all I will see, and denies me to every body else. This is the day of the queen's coming to the crown, and the day lord-treasurer was stabbed by Guiscard. I was at court, where every body had their birth-day clothes on, and I dined with lord-treasurer, who was very fine. He showed me some of the queen's speech, which

I corrected in several places, and penned the vote of address of thanks for the speech; but I was of opinion the House should not sit on Tuesday next, unless they hear the peace is signed; that is provided they are sure it will be signed the week after, and so have one scolding for all. Night, MD.

9. Lord-treasurer would have had me dine with him to-day; he desired me last night, but I refused, because he would not keep the day of his stabbing with all the cabinet, as he intended: so I dined with my friend Lewis; and the provost and Parnell, and Ford, were with us. I lost sixteen shillings at ombre; I don't like it. At night Lewis brought us word, that the parliament does not sit to-morrow. I hope they are sure of the peace by next week, and then they are right in my opinion: otherwise I think they have done wrong, and might have sat three weeks ago. People will grumble; but lord-treasurer cares not a rush. Lord-keeper is suddenly taken ill of a quinsy, and some lords are commissioned, I think lord-treasurer, to prorogue the parliament in his stead. You never saw a town so full of ferment and expectation. Mr Pope has published a fine poem, called Windsor Forest. * Read it. Night, MD.

10. I was early this morning to see Lord Bolingbroke. I find he was of opinion the parliament should sit; and says, they are not sure the peace will be signed next week. The prorogation is to this day se'ennight. I went to look on a library I am going to buy, if we can agree. I have offered a hundred and twenty pounds, and will give ten

* This is the first time that the name of Pope occurs in the journal. He was now in the act of emerging from obscurity.

pounds more. Lord Bolingbroke will lend me the money. I was two hours poring over the books. I will sell some of them, and keep the rest; but I doubt they won't take the money. I dined in the city, and sate an hour in the evening with lord-treasurer, who was in very good humour; but reproached me for not dining with him yesterday and to-day. What will all this come to? Lord-keeper had a pretty good night, and is better. I was in pain for him. **** Night, MD.

11. I was this morning to visit the Duke and Duchess of Ormond, and the Duchess of Hamilton, and went with the provost to an auction of pictures, and laid out fourteen shillings. I am in for it, if I had money; but I doubt I shall be undone; for Sir Andrew Fountaine invited the provost and me to dine with him, and play at ombre, when I fairly lost fourteen shillings. It won't do; and I shall be out of conceit with play this good while. I am come home; and it is late, and my puppy let out my fire, and I am gone to bed, and writing there, and it is past twelve a good while. Went out four matadores and a trump in black, and yet was beasted. Very sad, faith! Night, my dear rogues, MD.

12. I was at another auction of pictures to-day, and a great auction it was. I made Lord Masham lay out forty pounds. There were pictures sold of twice as much value a-piece. Our society met to-day at the Duke of Beaufort's: a prodigious fine dinner, which I hate; but we did some business. Our printer was to attend us, as usual; and the chancellor of the exchequer* sent the author of the Examiner† twenty guineas. He is an inge-

* Robert Benson, Esq.

† Mr Oldisworth.

nious fellow, but the most confounded vain coxcomb in the world, so that I dare not let him see me, nor am acquainted with him. I had much discourse with the Duke of Ormond this morning, and am driving some points to secure *****. I left the society at seven. I can't drink now at all with any pleasure. I love white Portugal wine better than claret, champaign, or burgundy. I have a sad vulgar appetite. I remember Ppt used to maunder, when I came from a great dinner, and DD had but a bit of mutton. I cannot endure above one dish; nor ever could since I was a boy, and loved stuffing. It was a fine day, which is a rarity with us, I assure you. Never fair two days together. Night, dear MD.

13. I had a rabble of Irish parsons this morning drinking my chocolate. I cannot remember appointments. I was to have supped last night with the Swedish envoy at his house, and some other company, but forgot it; and he rallied me to-day at Lord Bolingbroke's, who excused me, saying, the envoy ought not to be angry, because I serve lord-treasurer and him the same way. For that reason, I very seldom promise to go any where. I dined with lord-treasurer, who chid me for being absent so long, as he always does if I miss a day. I sat three hours this evening with Lady Jersey; but the first two hours she was at ombre with some company. I left lord-treasurer at eight; I fancied he was a little thoughtful, for he was playing with an orange by fits, which, I told him, among common men looked like the spleen. This letter shall not go to-morrow: no haste, young women; nothing that presses. I promised but once in three weeks, and I am better than my word. I wish the peace may be ready, I mean that we have notice it

is signed, before Tuesday; otherwise the grumbling will much increase. Night, dear MD.

14. It was a lovely day this, and I took the advantage of walking a good deal in the Park, before I went to court. Colonel Disney,* one of our society, is ill of a fever, and, we fear, in great danger. We all love him mightily, and he would be a great loss. I doubt I shall not buy the library; for a roguish bookseller has offered sixty pounds more than I designed to give; so you see I meant to have a good bargain. I dined with lord-treasurer and his Saturday company; but there were but seven at table. Lord Peterborow is ill, and spits blood, with a bruise he got before he left England; but, I believe, an Italian lady he has brought over is the cause that his illness returns. You know old Lady Bellasis is dead at last? She has left Lord Berkeley of Stratton one of her executors, and it will be of great advantage to him; they say above ten thousand pounds. I staid with lord-treasurer upon business, after the company was gone; but I dare not tell you upon what. My letters would be good memoirs, if I durst venture to say a thousand things that pass; but I hear so much of letters opening at your post-office, that I am fearful, &c. and so good night. Love Pdfr and MD.

15. Lord-treasurer engaged me to dine with him again to-day, and I had ready what he wanted; but he would not see it, but put me off till to-morrow. The queen goes to chapel now. She is carried in an open chair, and will be well enough to go to parliament on Tuesday, if the Houses meet, which

* A constant companion of General Withers, and commonly called "Duke Disney."

is not yet certain ; neither, indeed, can the ministers themselves tell ; for it depends on winds and weather, and circumstances of negotiation. However, we go on as if it was certainly to meet ; and I am to be at lord-treasurer's to-morrow, upon that supposition, to settle some things relating that way. Ppt may understand me. The doctors tell me, that if poor Colonel Disney does not get some sleep to-night, he must die. What care you ? Ah ! but I do care. He is one of our society ; a fellow of abundance of humour ; an old battered rake ; but very honest : not an old man, but an old rake. It was he that said of Jenny Kingdom, the maid of honour, who is a little old, " that, since she could not get a husband, the queen should give her a brevet to act as a married woman." You don't understand this. They give brevets to majors and captains to act as colonels in the army. Brevets are commissions. Ask soldiers, dear sirrahs. Night, MD.

16. I was at lord-treasurer's before he came ; and, as he entered, he told me the parliament was prorogued till Thursday se'ennight. They have had some expresses, by which they count that the peace may be signed by that time ; at least, that France, Holland, and we, will sign some articles, by which we shall engage to sign the peace when it is ready : but Spain has no minister there ; for Monteleon, who is to be their ambassador at Utrecht, is not yet gone from hence ; and till he is there, the Spaniards can sign no peace : and one thing take notice, that a general peace can hardly be finished these two months, so as to be proclaimed here ; for, after signing, it must be ratified ; that is, confirmed by the several princes at their courts, which to Spain will cost a month ; for we must have notice that it is

ratified in all courts before we can proclaim it. So be not in too much haste. Night, MD.

17. The Irish folks were disappointed that the parliament did not meet to-day, because it was St Patrick's day; and the Mall was so full of crosses, that I thought all the world was Irish. Miss Ashe is almost quite well, and I see the bishop, but shall not yet go to his house * I dined again with lord-treasurer; but the parliament being prorogued, I must keep what I have till next week: for I believe he will not see it till just the evening before the session. He has engaged me to dine with him again to-morrow, though I did all I could to put it off; but I don't care to disoblige him. **** Night, MD.

18. I have now dined six days successively with lord-treasurer; but to-night I stole away while he was talking with somebody else, and so am at liberty to-morrow. There was a flying report of a general cessation of arms: every body had it at court; but, I believe, there is nothing in it. I asked a certain French minister how things went? And he whispered me in French, "Your plenipotentiaries and ours play the fool." None of us indeed approve of the conduct of either at this time; but lord-treasurer was in full good humour for all that. He had invited a good many of his relations; and, of a dozen at table, they were all of the Harley family but myself. Disney is recovering, though you don't care a straw. Dilly murders us with his *if* puns. You know them. **** Night, MD.

19. The bishop of Clogher has made an *if* pun, that he is mighty proud of, and designs to send it over to his brother Tom. But Sir Andrew Foun-

* Swift greatly dreaded the small-pox.

taine has wrote to Tom Ashe last post, and told him the pun, and desired him to send it over to the bishop as his own ; and, if it succeeds, it will be a pure bite. The bishop will tell it us as a wonder, that he and his brother should jump so exactly. I'll tell you the pun ;—if there was a hackney coach at Mr Pooley's door, what town in Egypt would it be ? Why, it would be Hecatompolis ; *Hack at Tom Pooley's*. Silly, says Ppt. I dined with a private friend to-day ; for our society, I told you, meet but once a fortnight. I have not seen Fanny Manley yet ; I can't help it. Lady Orkney is come to town : why, she was at her country house ; what care you ? Night, MD.

20. Dilly read me a letter to-day from Ppt. She seems to have scratched her head when she wrote it. 'Tis a sad thing to write to people without taste. There you say, you hear I was going to Bath. No such thing ; I am pretty well, I thank God. The town is now sending me to Savoy. Forty people have given me joy of it, yet there is not the least truth that I know in it. I was at an auction of pictures, but bought none. I was so glad of my liberty, that I would dine no where ; but, the weather being fine, I sauntered into the city, and ate a bit about five, and then supped at Mr Burke's, your accomptant-general, who had been engaging me this month. The bishop of Clogher was to have been there, but was hindered by Lord Paget's funeral. The provost and I sat till one o'clock ; and, if that be not late, I don't know what is late. Parnell's poem will be published on Monday, and to-morrow I design he shall present it lord-treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke at court. The poor lad is almost always out of order with his head. Burke's wife is his sister. She has a little of the pert Irish way. Night, MD.

'21. Morning. I will now finish my letter; for company will come, and a stir, and a clutter; and I'll keep the letter in my pocket, and give it into the post myself. I must go to court, and you know on Saturday I dine with lord treasurer, of course. Farewell, dearest MD, FW, Me, Lele.

LETTER LXII.

London, March 21, 1712-13.

I GAVE your letter in this night. I dined with lord-treasurer to-day, and find he has been at a meeting at Lord Halifax's house, with four principal Whigs; but he is resolved to begin a speech against them when the parliament sits; and I have begged that the ministry may have a meeting on purpose to settle that matter, and let us be the attackers; and I believe it will come to something, for the Whigs intend to attack the ministers: and if, instead of that, the ministers attack the Whigs, it will be better: and farther, I believe we shall attack them on those very points they intend to attack us. The parliament will be again prorogued for a fortnight, because of Passion-week. I forgot to tell you, that Mr Griffin has given Ppt's brother a new employment, about ten pounds a-year better than his former; but more remote, and consequently cheaper. I wish I could have done better, and hope that you will take what can be done in good part, and that Ppt's brother will not dislike it.— Night, dearest MD.

22. I dined to-day with lord-steward.* There Frank Annesley (a parliament-man) told me he had heard that I had wrote to my friends in Ireland to keep firm to the Whig interest; for that lord-treasurer would certainly declare for it after the peace. Annesley said twenty people had told him this. You must know this is what they endeavour to report of lord-treasurer, that he designs to declare for the Whigs; and a Scotch fellow has wrote the same to Scotland; and his meeting with those lords gives occasion to such reports. Let me henceforth call lord-treasurer Eltee, because possibly my letters may be opened. Pray remember Eltee. You know the reason. L. T. and Eltee are pronounced the same way. Stay, it is now five weeks since I had a letter from MD. I allow you six. You see why I cannot come over the beginning of April; but as hope saved it is not Pdfr's fault. Whoever has to do with this ministry can fix no time: but, as hope saved, it is not Pdfr's fault. ****

23. I dined to-day at Sir Thomas Hanmer's, by an old appointment: there was the Duke of Ormond, and Lord and Lady Orkney. I left them at six. Every body is as sour as vinegar. I endeavour to keep a firm friendship between the Duke of Ormond and Eltee. You know who Eltee is (or have you forgot already?) I have great designs, if I can compass them; but delay is rooted in Eltee's heart; yet the fault is not altogether there, that things are no better. Here is the cursedest libel in verse come out that ever was seen, called the Ambassadors; † it is very dull too; it has been printed three or four different ways, and is handed about, but not sold. It abuses the queen horribly.

* Earl Poulet.

† It was entitled, "The British Ambassadors's Speech to the

The Examiner* has cleared me to-day of being author of his paper, and done it with great civilities to me. I hope it will stop people's mouths; if not, they must go on and be hanged, I care not. 'Tis terrible rainy weather, I'll go sleep. Night, dearest MD.

24. It rained all this day, and ruined me in coach-hire. I went to Colonel Disney, who is past danger. Then I visited lord-keeper, who was at dinner; but I would not dine with him, but drove to lord-treasurer (Eltee I mean;) paid the coachman, and went in; but he dined abroad: so I was forced to call the coachman again, and went to Lord Bolingbroke's. He dined abroad too; and at Lord

French King." For publishing it, Mr William Hart, the printer of the Flying Post, was tried in the court of Queen's Bench, June 27, 1713, and sentenced to stand twice in the pillory, to pay a fine of 50l. to her majesty, to be imprisoned two years, and till he should pay the said fine; and to find sufficient sureties for his good behaviour during life.

* In the original Examiner, Vol. III. No. 35, the passage is as follows: "They have been a long time laying a load upon a gentleman of the first character for learning, good sense, wit, and more virtues than even they can set off and illustrate by all the opposition and extremes of vice, which are the compounds of their party. He is indeed fully accomplished to be mortally hated by them, and they needed not to charge him with writing the Examiner, as if that were a sufficient revenge; in which they show as little judgment as truth. I here pronounce him clear of that imputation; and, out of pure regard to justice, strip myself of all the honour that lucky untruth did this paper, reserving to myself the entertaining reflection, that I was once taken for a man who has a thousand other recommendations, beside the malice of the worst men, to make him loved and esteemed by the best: This is the second time I have humoured that party, by publicly declaring who is not the author of the Examiner. I will lend them no more light, because they do not love it. I could only wish, that their invectives against that gentleman had been considerable enough to call forth his public resentments; and I stand amazed at their folly, in provoking so much ruin to their party. Their intellectuals must be as stupid as their consciences, not to dread the terrors of his pen, though they met him with all that spite to his person, which they ever expressed against his order."

Dupplin's I alighted, and by good luck got a dinner there, and then went to the Latin play at Westminster school, acted by the boys; and lord-treasurer (Eltee I mean again) honoured them with his presence. Lady Masham's eldest son, about two years old, is ill, and I am afraid will not live: she is full of grief, and I pity and am angry with her. Four shillings to-day in coach-hire; faith, it won't do. Our peace will certainly be ready by Thursday fortnight; but our plenipotentiaries were to blame that it was not done already. They thought their powers were not full enough to sign the peace, unless every prince was ready, which cannot yet be; for Spain has no minister yet at Utrecht; but now ours have new orders. Night, MD.

25. Weather worse than ever; terrible rain all day, but I was resolved I would spend no more money. I went to an auction of pictures with Dr Pratt, and there met the Duke of Beaufort, who promised to come with me to court, but did not. So a coach I got, and went to court, and did some little business there, but was forced to go home; for you must understand I take a little physic over night, which works me next day. Lady Orkney is my physician. It is hiera picra, two spoonfuls, devilish stuff! I thought to have dined with Eltee, but would not, merely to save a shilling; but I dined privately with a friend, and played at ombre, and won six shillings. Here are several people of quality lately dead of the small-pox. I have not yet seen Miss Ashe, but hear she is well. The bishop of Clogher has bought abundance of pictures, and Dr Pratt has got him very good pennyworths. I can get no walks, the weather is so bad. Is it so with you? Night, dear MD.

26. Though it was shaving-day, head and beard, yet I was out early to see Lord Bolingbroke, and talk over affairs with him; and then I went to the

Duke of Ormond, and so to court, where the ministers did not come, because the parliament was prorogued till this day fortnight. We had terrible rain and hail to-day. Our society met this day, but I left them before seven, and went to Sir Andrew Fountaine, and played at ombre with him and Sir Thomas Clarges, till ten, and then went to Sir Thomas Hanmer. His wife, the Duchess of Grafton, left us after a little while, and I staid with him about an hour, upon some affairs, &c. Lord Bolingbroke left us at the society before I went; for there is an express from Utrecht, but I know not yet what it contains; only I know the ministers expect the peace will be signed in a week, which is a week before the session. Night, MD.

27. Parnell's poem is mightily esteemed; but poetry sells ill. I am plagued with that **** poor Harrison's mother; you would laugh to see how cautious I am of paying her the 100l. I received for her son from the treasury. I have asked every creature I know, whether I may do it safely; yet durst not venture, till my lord-keeper assured me there was no danger. Yet I have not paid her, but will in a day or two: though I have a great mind to stay till Ppt sends me her opinion, because Ppt is a great lawyer. I dined to-day with a mixture of people at a Scotchman's, who made the invitation to Mr Lewis and me, and has some design upon us, which we know very well. I went afterward to see a famous moving picture, and I never saw any thing so pretty.* You see a sea ten inches

* There were several pictures exhibited about this time, on a similar principle. One with "many curious and wonderfully pleasing and surprising motions in it, all natural," is advertised in the *TATLER*, No. 113, to be seen at the Grecian's Head coffee-house. The editor of the *Tatler*, 1786, says there are in Bagford's collection in the Museum, several curious original hand-bills, minutely describing exhibitions of this nature.---Vol. V. p. 419.

wide, a town at the other end, and ships sailing in the sea, and discharging their cannon. You see a great sky, with moon and stars, &c. I am a fool. Night, dear MD.

28. I had a mighty levee to-day. I deny myself to every body, except about half a dozen, and they were all here, and Mr Addison was one. I had chocolate twice, which I don't like. Our rainy weather continues. Coach-hire goes deep. I dined with Eltee and his Saturday company, as usual, and could not get away till nine. Lord Peterborough was making long harangues, and Eltee kept me in spite. Then I went to see the bishop of Ossory, who had engaged me in the morning; he is going to Ireland. The bishop of Killaloe and Tom Leigh were with us. The latter had wholly changed his style by seeing how the bishops behaved themselves, and he seemed to think me one of more importance than I really am. I put the ill conduct of the bishops about the first-fruits, with relation to Eltee and me, strongly upon Killaloe, and showed how it had hindered me from getting a better thing for them, called the crown rents, which the queen had promised. He had nothing to say, but was humble, and desired my interest in that and some other things. This letter is half done in a week: I believe you will have it next. Night, MD.

29. I have been employed in endeavouring to save one of your junior fellows,* who came over here for a dispensation from taking orders, and, in soliciting it, has run out his time, and now his fellowship is void. if the college pleases, unless the queen suspends the execution, and gives him time

* Mr Charles Grattan, afterward master of the free school at Enniskillen, founded by Erasmus Smythe, Esq.

to take orders. I spoke to all the ministers yesterday about it; but they say the queen is angry, and thought it was a trick to deceive her; and she is positive, and so the man must be ruined, for I cannot help him. I never saw him in my life; but the case was so hard, I could not forbear interposing. Your government recommended him to the Duke of Ormond, and he thought they would grant it; and by the time it was refused, the fellowship by rigour is forfeited. I dined with Dr Arbuthnot (one of my brothers) at his lodgings in Chelsea, and was there at chapel; and the altar put me in mind of Tisdall's outlandish mould at your hospital for the soldiers. I was not at court to-day, and I hear the queen was not at church. Perhaps the gout has seized her again. Terrible rain all day. Have you such weather? Night, MD.

30. Morning. I was naming some time ago, to a certain person, another certain person, that was very deserving, and poor and sickly; and the other, that first certain person, gave me a hundred pounds to give the other, which I have not yet done. The person who is to have it, never saw the giver, nor expects one farthing, nor has the least knowledge or imagination of it; so I believe it will be a very agreeable surprise; for I think it is a handsome present enough. At night I dined in the city, at Pontack's, with Lord Dupplin,* and some others. We were treated by one Colonel Cleland, † who has

* Then one of the tellers of the exchequer.

† To whom Pope inscribed the letter preliminary of the *Dunciad*. He was the son of Colonel Cleland, a presbyterian poet, who wrote several hudibrastic satires in the style of Cleveland, against the persecutions of his sect during the reigns of Charles II., and James II. After the Revolution, he became colonel of what was called the Cameronian regiment, at the head of which he

a mind to be governor of Barbadoes, and is laying these long traps for me and others, to engage our interest for him. He is a true Scotchman. I paid the hundred pounds this evening, and it was a great surprise to the receiver. We reckon the peace is now signed, and that we shall have it in three days. I believe it is pretty sure. Night, MD.

31. I thought to-day on Ppt when she told me she supposed I was acquainted with the steward, when I was giving myself airs of being at some lord's house. Sir Andrew Fountaine invited the bishop of Clogher and me, and some others, to dine where he did; and he carried us to the Duke of Kent's, who was gone out of town; but the steward treated us nobly, and showed us the fine pictures, &c. I have not yet seen Miss Ashe. I wait till she has been abroad, and taken the air. This evening Lady Masham, Dr Arbuthnot, and I, were contriving a lie for to-morrow, that Mr Noble, *

was killed at Dunkeld in 1689. His son, here mentioned, was the intimate of Pope, Swift, and the wits of Queen Anne's time; and had himself a son, too well known as the author of the most infamous book in the English language. In this singular pedigree, a fanatic poet begets a free-living wit, and he, a gentleman of character and fashion, has a son who merited the pillory.

* Richard Noble, an attorney, son of the keeper of a coffee-house at Bath. He prevailed on the wife of John Sayer, Esq. a gentleman of fortune in Buckinghamshire, to elope with him. The injured husband, with the assistance of peace-officers, broke into the apartment in which his wife was in bed with her seducer, and received a mortal wound by Mr Noble's sword. The murderer in vain endeavoured to escape by the window, was seized, tried, condemned, and executed. From the profession of the gallant in *Love-a-la-Mode*, and the dramatic personæ in the *Bagno* scene, it would seem Hogarth had this remarkable story in his mind at the time.—See Noble's case in *State Trials*, vol. ix.

who was hanged last Saturday, was recovered by his friends, and then seized again by the sheriff, and is now in a messenger's hands at the Black Swan in Holborn. We are all to send to our friends, to know whether they have heard any thing of it, and so we hope it will spread. However, we shall do our endeavours; nothing shall be wanting on our parts, and leave the rest to fortune. Night, MD.

April 1. We had no success in our story, though I sent my man to several houses, to inquire among the footmen, without letting him into the secret; but I doubt my colleagues did not contribute as they ought. Parnell and I dined with Dartineuf to-day. You have heard of Dartineuf: I have told you of Dartineuf. After dinner we all went to Lord Bolingbroke's, who had desired me to dine with him; but I would not, because I heard it was to look over a dull poem of one parson Trap, upon the peace. The Swedish envoy told me to day at court, that he was in great apprehensions about his master; and indeed we are afraid that prince * is dead among those Turkish dogs. I prevailed on Lord Bolingbroke to invite Mr Addison to dine with him on Good Friday. I suppose we shall be mighty mannerly. Addison is to have a play on Friday in Easter week: 'tis a tragedy, called Cato; I saw it unfinished some years ago. Did I tell you, that Steele has begun a new daily paper, called the Guardian: † they say good for nothing. I have not seen it. Night, dear MD.

2. I was this morning with Lord Bolingbroke, and he tells me a Spanish courier is just come, with

* Charles the Twelfth.

† First published on Thursday, March 12, 1712-13.

the news that the king of Spain has agreed to every thing that the queen desires ; and the Duke d'Osuna has left Paris, in order to his journey to Utrecht. I was prevailed on to come home with Trap, and read his poem and correct it ; but it was good for nothing. While I was thus employed, Sir Thomas Hanmer came up to my chamber, and balked me of a journey he and I intended this week to Lord Orkney's, at Cliffden ; but he is not well, and his physician will not let him undertake such a journey. I intended to dine with lord-treasurer ; but going to see colonel Disney, who lives with general Withers,* I liked the general's little dinner so well, that I staid and took share of it, and did not go to lord-treasurer till six, where I found Dr Sacheverel, who told us, that the bookseller had given him 100*l.* for his sermon, preached last Sunday, and intended to print 30.000 ; I believe he will be confoundedly bit, and will hardly sell above half.† I have fires still, though April is begun,

* Hence Gay's lines, in his "Welcome from Greece," addressed to Pope on finishing the *Iliad* :

Now pass we Gravesend with a friendly wind,
 And Tilbury's white fort, and long Blackwall,
 Greenwich, where dwells the friend of human kind,
 More visited than or her park or hall,
 Withers the good, and (with him ever joined)
 Facetious Disney, greet thee first of all :
 I see his chimney smoke, and hear him say,
 Duke ! that's the room for Pope, and that for Gay.

Come in, my friends ! here shall ye dine and lie,
 And here shall breakfast, and here dine again ;
 And sup and breakfast on (if ye comply,) :
 For I have still some dozens of champaign :
 His voice still lessens as the ship sails by ;
 He waves his hand to bring us back in vain ;
 For now I see, I see proud London's spires ;
 Greenwich is lost, and Deptford dock retires.

† The original sermon of Dr Henry Sacheverel made so much noise, that it cannot be wondered the bookseller should have had

against my old maxim; but the weather is wet and cold. I never saw such a long run of ill weather in my life. Night, dear MD.

3. I was at the queen's chapel to-day, but she was not there. Mr St John, Lord Bolingbroke's brother, came this day at noon with an express from Utrecht, that the peace is signed by all the ministers there, but those of the emperor, who will likewise sign in a few days; so that now the great work is in effect done, and I believe it will appear a most excellent peace for Europe, particularly for England. Addison and I, and some others, dined with Lord Bolingbroke, and sate with him till twelve. We were very civil, but yet when we grew warm, we talked in a friendly manner of party. Addison raised his objections, and Lord Bolingbroke answered them with great complaisance. Addison began Lord Somers's health, which went about; but I bid him not name Lord Wharton's, for I would not pledge it; and I told Lord Bolingbroke frankly, that Addison loved Lord Wharton as little as I did: so we laughed, &c. Well, but you are glad of the peace, you Ppt the trimmer, are not you? As for DD I don't doubt her. Why, now, if I did not think Ppt had been a violent Tory, and DD the greater Whig of the two! It is late. Night, MD.

4. This Passion week, people are so demure,

great hopes from this second discourse. It was entitled, "The Christian Triumph, or the Duty of Praying for our Enemies," the first which he preached after the three years silence imposed upon him by the House of Peers as a part of his sentence. Still less could it be expected, that the poor Doctor himself should be able to estimate the change which lapse of time had made in the popularity of one, whose sole merit was that of a fiery and forward tool.

especially this last day, that I told Dilly, who called here, that I would dine with him, and so I did, faith; and had a small shoulder of mutton of my own bespeaking. It rained all day. I came home at seven, and have never stirred out, but have been reading Sacheverel's long dull sermon, which he sent me. It is the first sermon since his suspension is expired; but not a word in it upon the occasion, except two or three remote hints. The bishop of Clogher has been sadly bit by Tom Ashe, who sent him a pun, which the bishop had made, and designed to send to him, but delayed it; and Lord Pembroke and I made Sir Andrew Fountaine write it to Tom. I believe I told you of it in my last; it succeeded right, and the bishop was wondering to Lord Pembroke how he and his brother could hit on the same thing. I'll go to bed soon, for I must be at church by eight to-morrow, Easter day. Night, dear MD.

5. Warburton wrote to me two letters about a living of one Foulkes, who is lately dead in the county of Meath. My answer is, that before I received the first letter, general Gorge had recommended a friend of his to the Duke of Ormond, which was the first time I heard of its vacancy, and it was the provost told me of it. I believe verily that Foulkes was not dead when Gorge recommended the other: for Warburton's last letter said, that Foulkes was dead the day before the date.—This has prevented me from serving Warburton, as I would have done, if I had received early notice enough. Pray say or write this to Warburton, to justify me to him. I was at church at eight this morning, and dressed and shaved after I came back, but was too late at court; and Lord Abingdon had like to have snapped me for dinner, and I believe will fall out for refusing him; but I hate dining

with him, and I dined with a private friend, and took two or three good walks ; for it was a very fine day, the first we have had a great while. Remember, was Easter day a fine day with you? I have sat with Lady Worsley till now. Night. MD.

6. I was this morning at ten at the rehearsal of Mr Addison's play, called Cato, which is to be acted on Friday. There were not above half-a-score of us to see it. We stood on the stage, and it was foolish enough to see the actors prompted every moment, and the poet directing them; and the drab that acts Cato's daughter* out in the midst of a passionate part, and then calling out, "What's next?"† The bishop of Clogher was there too ; but he stood privately in a gallery. I went to dine with lord-treasurer, but he was gone to Wimbledon, his daughter Caermarthen's country seat, seven miles off. So I went back, and dined privately with Mr Addison, whom I had left to go to lord-treasurer. I keep fires yet ; I am very extravagant. I sate this evening with Sir Andrew Fountaine, and we amused ourselves with making ifs for Dilly. It is rainy weather again ; never saw the like. This letter shall go to-morrow ; remember, young women, it is seven weeks since your last, and I allow you but five weeks ; but you have been galloping in the country to Swanton's. Pray tell Swanton I had his letter, but cannot contrive how to serve him. If a governor were to go over, I would recommend him as far as lay in my power, but I can do no more : and you know all employments in

* Mrs Oldfield.

† It is singular, that Swift makes no remark on the piece itself. But he was now on cold terms with Addison, and never seems to have been interested in the Drama.

Ireland, at least almost all, are engaged in resignations. If I were on the spot, and had credit with a lord-lieutenant, I would very heartily recommend him; but employments here are no more in my power than the monarchy itself. Night, dear MD.

7 Morning. I have had a visitor here, that has taken up my time. I have not been abroad, you may be sure; so I can say nothing to-day, but that I love MD better than ever, if possible. I will put this in the post-office; so I say no more. I write by this post to the dean, but it is not above two lines; and one enclosed to you, but that enclosed to you is not above three lines; and then one enclosed to the dean, which he must not have but upon condition of burning it immediately after reading, and that before your eyes; for there are some things in it I would not have liable to accident. You shall only know in general, that it is an account of what I have done to serve him in his pretensions on these vacancies, &c. But he must not know that you know so much. Don't this perplex you? what care I? But love Pdfr. Farewell, dearest MD, FW, Me, Lele.

LETTER LXIII.

London, April 7, 1713.

I FANCY I marked my last, which I sent this day, wrong; only 61, and it ought to be 62. I dined with lord-treasurer, and though the business I had with him is something against Thursday,

when the parliament is to meet, and this is Tuesday, yet he put it off till to-morrow. I dare not tell you what it is, lest this letter should miscarry or be opened; but I never saw his fellow for delays. The parliament will now certainly sit, and every body's expectations are ready to burst. At a council to night, the lord chief-justice Parker, a Whig, spoke against the peace; so did Lord Cholmondeley, another Whig, who is treasurer of the household. My lord-keeper * was this night made lord-chancellor. We hope there will soon be some removes. Night, dearest little MD.

8. Lord Cholmondeley is this day removed from his employment, for his last night's speech; and Sir Richard Temple, lieutenant-general, the greatest Whig in the army, is turned out; and lieutenant-general Palmes will be obliged to sell his regiment. This is the first-fruits of a friendship I have established between two great men. I dined with lord-treasurer, and did the business I had for him to his satisfaction. I won't tell you what it was. **** The parliament sits to-morrow for certain. Here is a letter printed in Macartney's name, vindicating himself from the murder of Duke Hamilton. I must give some hints to have it answered; 'tis full of lies, and will give an opportunity of exposing that party. To-morrow will be a very important day. All the world will be at Westminster. Lord-treasurer is as easy as a lamb. They are mustering up the proxies of the absent lords; but they are not in any fear of wanting a majority, which death and accidents have increased this year. Night, MD.

9. I was this morning with lord-treasurer, to pre-

* Lord Harcourt.

sent to him a young son of the late Earl of Jersey, at the desire of the widow. There I saw the mace and great coach ready for lord-treasurer, who was going to parliament. Our society met to-day; but I expected the Houses would sit longer than I cared to fast; so I dined with a friend, and never inquired how matters went till eight this evening, when I went to Lord Orkney's, where I found Sir Thomas Hanmer. The queen delivered her speech very well, but a little weaker in her voice. The crowd was vast. The order for an address was moved, and opposed by Lords Nottingham, Halifax, and Cowper. Lord treasurer spoke with great spirit and resolution; Lord Peterborow flirted against the Duke of Marlborough (who is in Germany you know) but it was in answer to one of Lord Halifax's impertinences. The order for an address passed by a majority of thirty-three, and the Houses rose before six. This is the account I heard at Lord Orkney's. The bishop of Chester,* a high Tory, was against the court. The Duchess of Marlborough sent for him some months ago, to justify herself to him in relation to the queen, and showed him letters, and told him stories, which the weak man believed, and was converted.

10. I dined with a cousin in the city, and poor Pat Rolt was there. I have got her rogue of a husband leave to come to England from Portmahon. The Whigs are much down; but I reckon they have some scheme in agitation. This parliament time hinders our court meetings on Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. I had a great deal of business to-night, which gave me a temptation to be idle, and I lost a dozen shillings at ombre

* Dr Francis Gastrell, consecrated to that see April 4, 1713.

with Dr Pratt and another. It rains every day, and yet we are all over dust. Lady Masham's eldest boy is very ill: I doubt he will not live, and she stays at Kensington to nurse him, which vexes us all. She is so excessively fond, it makes me mad. She should never leave the queen, but leave every thing, to stick to what is so much the interest of the public, as well as her own. This I tell her; but talk to the winds.* Night, MD.

11. I dined at lord-treasurer's with his Saturday company. We had ten at table, all lords but myself and the chancellor of the exchequer. Argyle went off at six, and was in very indifferent humour as usual. Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke were absent. I staid till near ten. Lord-treasurer showed us a small picture, enamelled work, and set in gold, worth about twenty pounds; a picture, I mean, of the queen, which she gave to the Duchess of Marlborough, set in diamonds. When the Duchess was leaving England, she took off all the diamonds, and gave the picture to one Mrs Higgins, (an old intriguing woman, whom every body knows,) bidding her make the best of it she could. Lord-treasurer sent to Mrs Higgins for this picture, and gave her a hundred pounds for it. Was ever such an ungrateful beast as that Duchess? or did you ever hear such a story? I suppose the Whigs will not believe it. Pray, try them. She takes off the diamonds, and gives away the picture to an insignificant woman, as a thing of no consequence: and gives it to her to sell, like a piece of old-fashioned plate. Is she not a detestable slut? Night, dear MD

* In this advice, the Doctor's political zeal seems to have borne down his natural feelings.

12. I went to court to-day, on purpose to present Mr Berkeley,* one of your fellows of Dublin college, to Lord Berkeley of Stratton. That Mr Berkeley is a very ingenious man, and great philosopher, and I have mentioned him to all the ministers, and have given them some of his writings; and I will favour him as much as I can. This I think I am bound to, in honour and conscience, to use all my little credit toward helping forward men of worth in the world. The queen was at chapel to-day, and looks well. I dined at Lord Orkney's with the Duke of Ormond, Lord Arran, and Sir Thomas Hanmer. Mr St John, secretary at Utrecht, expects every moment to return there with the ratification of the peace. Did I tell you in my last of Addison's play called Cato, and that I was at the rehearsal of it? Night, MD.

13. This morning my friend, Mr Lewis, came to me, and showed me an order for a warrant for three deaneries; but none of them to me. This was what I always foresaw, and received the notice of it better, I believe, than he expected. I bid Mr Lewis tell my lord-treasurer, that I take nothing ill of him, but his not giving me timely notice, as he promised to do, if he found the queen would do nothing for me. At noon, lord-treasurer hearing I was in Mr Lewis's office, came to me, and said many things too long to repeat. I told him I had nothing to do but go to Ireland immediately; for I could not, with any reputation, stay longer here, unless I had something honourable immediately

* This Mr Berkeley, afterward the celebrated bishop of Cloyne, was, on Swift's recommendation, preferred to be secretary and chaplain to the Earl of Peterborough, i. e. going as envoy to Sicily. But the ambassador got rid of his chaplain and train, whom he left at Leghorn, while he discharged the business of his mission.

given to me. We dined together at the Duke of Ormond's. He there told me, he had stopped the warrants for the deans, that what was done for me, might be at the same time, and he hoped to compass it to night ; but I believe him not. I told the Duke of Ormond my intentions. He is content Sterne should be a bishop, and I have St Patrick's ; but, I believe nothing will come of it, for stay I will not ; and so I believe for all our ***** you may see me in Dublin before April ends. I am less out of humour than you would imagine : and if it were not, that impertinent people will condole with me, as they used to give me joy, I would value it less. But I will avoid company, and muster up my baggage, and send them next Monday by the carrier to Chester, and come and see my willows, against the expectation of all the world.—What care I ? Night, dearest rogues MD.

15. I dined in the city to-day, and ordered a lodging to be got ready for me against I came to pack up my things ; for I will leave this end of the town as soon as ever the warrants for the deaneries are out, which are yet stopped. Lord-treasurer told Mr Lewis, that it should be determined to-night : and so he will say a hundred nights. So he said yesterday, but I value it not. My daily journals shall be but short till I get into the city, and then I will send away this, and follow it myself ; and design to walk it all the way to Chester, my man and I, by ten miles a-day. It will do my health a great deal of good. I shall do it in fourteen days. Night, dear MD.

15. Lord Bolingbroke made me dine with him to-day. I was as good company as ever : and told me the queen would determine something for me to-night. The dispute is, Windsor, or St Patrick's. I told him I would not stay for their disputes, and

he thought I was in the right. Lord Masham told me, that Lady Masham is angry I have not been to see her since this business, and desires I will come to-morrow. Night, dear MD.

16. I was this noon at Lady Masham's, who was just come from Kensington, where her eldest son is sick. She said much to me of what she had talked to the queen and lord-treasurer. The poor lady fell a shedding tears openly. She could not bear to think of my having St Patrick's, &c. I was never more moved than to see so much friendship. I would not stay with her, but went and dined with Dr Arbuthnot, with Mr Berkeley, one of your fellows, whom I have recommended to the doctor, and to Lord Berkeley of Stratton. Mr Lewis tells me, that the Duke of Ormond has been to-day with the queen; and she was content, that Dr Sterne should be bishop of Dromore, and I dean of St Patrick's; but then out came lord-treasurer, and said, he would not be satisfied, but that I must be prebendary of Windsor. Thus he perplexes things. I expect neither; but I confess, as much as I love England, I am so angry at this treatment, that, if I had my choice, I would rather have St Patrick's. Lady Masham says, she will speak to the purpose to the queen to-morrow. Night, dear MD.

17. I went to dine at lady Masham's to-day, and she was taken ill of a sore throat, and aguish. She spoke to the queen last night, but had not much time. The queen says she will determine to-morrow with lord-treasurer. The warrants for the deaneries are still stopped, for fear I should be gone. Do you think any thing will be done? I don't care whether it is or no. In the mean time, I prepare for my journey, and see no great people, nor will see lord-treasurer any more, if I go. Lord-

treasurer told Mr Lewis it should be done to-night; so he said five nights ago. Night, MD.

18. This morning Mr Lewis sent me word, that lord-treasurer told him the queen would determine at noon. At three lord-treasurer sent to me to come to his lodgings at St James's, and told me the queen was at last resolved, that Dr Sterne should be bishop of Dromore, and I dean of St Patrick's; and that Sterne's warrant should be drawn immediately. You know the deanery is in the Duke of Ormond's gift; but this is concerted between the queen, lord-treasurer, and the Duke of Ormond, to make room for me. I do not know whether it will yet be done; some unlucky accident may yet come. Neither can I feel joy at passing my days in Ireland; and I confess, I thought the ministry would not let me go; but perhaps they can't help it. Night, MD.

19. I forgot to tell you, that lord-treasurer forced me to dine with him yesterday as usual, with his Saturday company; which I did after frequent refusals. To-day I dined with a private friend, and was not at court. After dinner Mr Lewis sent me word, that the queen staid till she knew whether the Duke of Ormond approved of Sterne for a bishop. I went this evening, and found the Duke of Ormond at the cockpit, and told him, and desired he would go to the queen, and approve of Sterne. He made objections, and desired I would name any other deanery, for he did not like Sterne; that Sterne never went to see him; that he was influenced by the archbishop of Dublin, &c.; so all is now broken again. I sent out for lord-treasurer, and told him this. He says all will do well; but I value not what he says. This suspense vexes me worse than any thing else. Night, MD.

20. I went to-day, by appointment, to the cock-

pit, to talk with the Duke of Ormond. He repeated the same proposals of any other deanery, &c. I desired he would put me out of the case, and do as he pleased. Then, with great kindness, he said he would consent; but would do it for no man alive but me, &c. And he will speak to the queen to-day or to-morrow: so, perhaps, something will come of it. I can't tell. Night, own dear MD.

21. The Duke of Ormond has told the queen he is satisfied that Sterne should be bishop, and she consents I shall be dean; and I suppose the warrants will be drawn in a day or two. I dined at an alehouse with Parnell and Berkeley; for I am not in humour to go among the ministers, though Lord Dartmouth invited me to dine with him to-day, and lord-treasurer was to be there. I said I would, if I were out of suspense. Night, dearest MD.

22. The queen says warrants shall be drawn, but she will dispose of all in England and Ireland at once, to be teased no more. This will delay it some time; and, while it is delayed, I am not sure of the queen, my enemies being busy.* I hate this suspense. Night, dear MD.

23. I dined yesterday with General Hamilton: I forgot to tell you. I write short journals now. I have eggs on the spit. This night the queen has signed all the warrants, among which Sterne is bishop of Dromore, and the Duke of Ormond is to send over an order for making me dean of St Patrick's. I have no doubt of him at all. I think 'tis now past. And I suppose MD is malicious enough to be glad, and rather have it than Wells. †

* He was now probably aware of the danger of having provoked the Duchess of Somerset's irreconcilable enmity, by the Windsor Prophecy.

† See Journal, p. 126. Note.

But you see what a condition I am in. I thought I was to pay but six hundred pounds for the house; but the bishop of Clogher says eight hundred pounds; first-fruits one hundred and fifty pounds, and so, with patent, a thousand pounds in all; so that I shall not be the better for the deanery these three years. I hope, in some time they will be persuaded here to give me some money to pay off these debts. I must finish the book * I am writing, before I can go over; and they expect I shall pass next winter here, and then I will drive them to give me a sum of money. However, I hope to pass four or five months with MD whatever comes of it. **** I received yours to-night; just ten weeks since I had your last. I shall write next post to bishop Sterne. Never man had so many enemies in Ireland as he. I carried it with the strongest hand possible. If he does not use me well and gently in what dealings I shall have with him, he will be the most ungrateful of mankind. The Archbishop of York, † my mortal enemy, has sent, by a third hand, that he would be glad to see me. Shall I see him, or not? I hope to be over in a month, and that MD, with their raillery, will be mistaken, that I shall make it three years. I will answer your letter soon; but no more journals. I shall be very busy. Short letters from henceforward. I shall not part with Laracor. That is all I have to live on, except the deanery be worth more than four hundred pounds a-year. Is it? If it be, overplus shall be divided ***** , beside usual ***** . Pray

* The History of the Peace of Utrecht.

† Dr Sharp, who, with the Duchess of Somerset, obstinately opposed Swift's preferment, grounding their objections on his being the author of the Tale of a Tub.

write to me a good-humoured letter immediately, let it be ever so short. This affair was carried with great difficulty, which vexes me. But they say here, it is much to my reputation, that I have made a bishop, in spite of all the world, to get the best deanery in Ireland. Night, dear MD.

24. I forgot to tell you, I had Sterne's letter yesterday, in answer to mine. ***** I made mistakes the three last days, and am forced to alter the number. I dined in the city to-day with my printer, and came home early, and am going to be busy with my work. I will send this to-morrow, and I suppose the warrants will go then. I wrote to Dr Coghill, to take care of passing my patent; and to Parvisol, to attend him with money, if he has any, or to borrow some where he can. Night, MD.

25. Morning. I know not whether my warrant be got ready from the Duke of Ormond. I suppose it will by to-night. I am going abroad, and will keep this unsealed, till I know whether all be finished.

I had this letter all day in my pocket, waiting till I heard the warrants were gone over. Mr Lewis sent to Southwell's clerk at ten; and he said the bishop of Killaloe* had desired they should be stopped till next post. He sent again, that the bishop of Killaloe's business had nothing to do with ours. Then I went myself, but it was past eleven, and asked the reason. Killaloe is removed to Raphoe, and he has a mind to have an order for the rents of Raphoe, that have fallen due since the vacancy, and he would have all stop till he has gotten that. A pretty request! But the clerk, at Mr Lewis's message, sent the warrants for Sterne and

* Dr Thomas Lindsay.

me; but then it was too late to send this, which frets me heartily, that MD should not have intelligence first from Pdfr. I think to take a hundred pounds a-year out of the deanery, and divide between **** but will talk of that when I come over. Night, dear MD. Love Pdfr.

26. I was at court to-day, and a thousand people gave me joy; so I ran out. I dined with Lady Orkney. Yesterday I dined with lord-treasurer and his Saturday people as usual; and was so be-deaned! The archbishop of York says, he will never more speak against me. Pray see that Parvisol stirs about getting my patent. I have given Tooke DD's note, to prove she is alive.****

27. Nothing new to-day. I dined with Tom Harley, &c. I'll seal up this to-night. Pray write soon. Farewell, MD, FW, Me, Lele.

LETTER LXIV.

London, May 16, 1713.

I HAD yours, N. 40, yesterday. Your new bishop acts very ungratefully. I cannot say so bad of him as he deserves. I begged by the same post his warrant and mine went over, that he would leave those livings to my disposal. I shall write this post to him, to let him know how ill I take it. I have letters to tell me, that I ought to think of employing somebody to set the tithes of the deanery. I know not what to do at this distance. I cannot be in Ireland under a month. I will write

two orders ; one to Parvisol, and the other to Parvisol and a blank for whatever fellow the last dean employed ; and I would desire you to advise with friends, which to make use of : and if the latter, let the fellow's name be inserted, and both act by commission. If the former, then speak to Parvisol, and know whether he can undertake it. I doubt it is hardly to be done by a perfect stranger alone, as Parvisol is. He may perhaps venture at all, to keep up his interest with me ; but that is needless, for I am willing to do him any good, that will do me no harm. Pray advise with Walls and Raymond, and a little with bishop Sterne for form. Tell Raymond I cannot succeed to get him the living of Moimed. It is represented here as a great sinecure. Several chaplains have solicited for it ; and it has vexed me so, that, if I live, I will make it my business to serve him better in something else. I am heartily sorry for his illness, and that of the other two. If it be not necessary to let the tithes till a month hence, you may keep the two papers, and advise well in the mean time ; and whenever it is absolutely necessary, then give that paper which you are most advised to. I thank Mr Walls for his letter. Tell him, that must serve for an answer, with my service to him and her. I shall buy bishop Sterne's hair, as soon as his household goods. I shall be ruined, or at least sadly cramped, unless the queen will give me a thousand pounds. I am sure she owes me a great deal more. Lord-treasurer rallies me upon it, and I believe intends it ; but, *quando ?* I am advised to hasten over as soon as possible, and so I will, and hope to set out the beginning of June. Take no lodging for me. What ! at your old tricks again ? I can lie somewhere after I land, and care not where, nor how. I will buy your eggs and bacon, **** your caps and Bible ;

and pray think immediately, and give me some commissions, and I will perform them. The letter I sent before this was to have gone a post before; but an accident hindered it: and, I assure you, I am very angry MD did not write to Pdfr, and I think you might have had a dean under your girdle for the superscription. I have just finished my Treatise,* and must be ten days in correcting it. Farewell, dearest MD, FW, Me, Lele. You'll seal the two papers after my name.

“ London, May 16, 1713.

“ I appoint Mr Isaiah Parvisol and Mr to set and let the tithes of the deanery of St Patrick's for the present year. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the day and year above written.

JONAT. SWIFT.”

“ London, May 16, 1713.

“ I do hereby appoint Mr Isaiah Parvisol my proctor, to set and let the tithes of the deanery of St Patrick's. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the day and year above written.

JONAT. SWIFT.”

LETTER LXV.

Chester, June 6, 1713.

I AM come here after six days. I set out on Monday last, and got here to-day about eleven in

* His History of the Peace of Utrecht.

the morning. A noble rider, faith! and all the ships and people went off yesterday with a rare wind. This was told me, to my comfort, upon my arrival. Having not used riding these three years, made me terrible weary; yet I resolve on Monday to set out for Holyhead, as weary as I am: 'tis good for my health, man. When I came here, I found MD's letter of the 26th of May, sent down to me. Had you written a post sooner, I might have brought some pins: but you were lazy, and could not write your orders immediately, as I desired you. I will come, when God pleases; perhaps I may be with you in a week. I will be three days going to Holyhead; I cannot ride faster, say what you will. I am upon Stay-behind's mare. I have the whole inn to myself. I would fain 'scape this Holyhead journey; but I have no prospect of ships, and it will be almost necessary I should be in Dublin before the 25th instant, to take the oaths; otherwise I must wait to a quarter session. I will lodge as I can; therefore take no lodgings for me, to pay in my absence. The poor dean can't afford it. I spoke again to the Duke of Ormond about Moimed for Raymond, and hope he may yet have it, for I laid it strongly to the Duke, and gave him the bishop of Meath's memorial. I am sorry for Raymond's fistula; tell him so. I will speak to lord-treasurer about Mrs South to-morrow.—Odso! I forgot; I thought I had been in London. Mrs Tisdall is very big, ready to lie down. Her husband is a puppy. Do his feet stink still? The letters to Ireland go at so uncertain an hour, that I am forced to conclude. Farewell, MD, FW, Me, Lele, &c.

T R A C T S,
POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL,
PRIOR TO
THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE I.

MEMOIRS, &c.

THESE Memoirs are placed as introductory to Swift's Political Tracts during the reign of Queen Anne, because, like the foregoing Journal, they tend to make the reader acquainted both with the author's personal sentiments, and with the scene of intrigue and faction in which it was his fate to be engaged. They have some appearance of having been intended as an apology, or, as Swift would rather have called it, a vindication of his own political conduct, as well as an explanation of the series of mutual quarrel and recrimination, which, under circumstances demanding their closest adherence to each other, dissolved the union between his patrons Oxford and Bolingbroke. On the first point the paper is sufficiently explicit, and openly declares, that a concurrence between his feelings as a clergyman of the Church of England, outraged by the conduct of the Whig party, and the neglect with which his individual services had been regarded, induced him to desert the standard of Halifax and Somers, for that of the Tory chiefs, whose professed object was the elevation of his order, and from whom, individually, he received all the solicitous attention necessary to conciliate so proud a spirit. By comparing the two next articles with the remaining tracts in this department, the reader may distinctly ascertain in what degree Swift, in shifting his party and changing his friends, made any dereliction of his original principles.

MEMOIRS

RELATING TO THAT CHANGE WHICH HAPPENED IN
THE QUEEN'S MINISTRY IN THE YEAR 1710.

HAVING continued for near the space of four years in a good degree of confidence with the ministry then in being, although not with so much power as was believed, or at least given out by my friends, as well as by my enemies, especially the latter, in both Houses of Parliament; and this having happened during a very busy period of negotiations abroad, and management of intrigue at home, I thought it might probably, some years hence, when the present scene shall have given place to many new ones that will arise, be an entertainment to those who will have any personal regard for me or my memory, to set down some particularities which fell under my knowledge and observation, while I was supposed, whether truly or not, to have part in the secret of affairs.

One circumstance I am a little sorry for, that I was too negligent (against what I had always resolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints, or journals of every material as it passed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now recollect, although I was convinced, by a thousand in-

stances, of the weakness of my memory. But, to say the truth, the nearer knowledge any man has in the affairs at court, the less he thinks them of consequence, or worth regarding. And those kind of passages which I have with curiosity found or searched for in memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to me from the first hand, or were such wherein I acted myself. This I take to be one among other reasons, why great ministers seldom give themselves the trouble of recording the important parts of that administration where they themselves are at the head. They have extinguished all that vanity which usually possesses men during their first acquaintance at courts; and, like the masters of a puppet-show, they despise those motions which fill common spectators with wonder and delight.* However, upon frequently recollecting the course of affairs during the time I was either trusted or employed, I am deceived, if in history there can be found any period, more full of passages, which the curious of another age would be glad to know the secret springs of; or whence more useful instructions may be gathered, for directing the conduct of those who shall hereafter have the good or ill fortune to be engaged in business of the state.

It may probably enough happen, that those who shall at any time hereafter peruse these papers, may think it not suitable to the nature of them, that upon occasion I sometimes make mention of my-

* Swift could not but remember, though he has not thought it necessary to add, that the reason is the same. The machinist is not less unwilling to destroy the marvel of the spectators by displaying the wires and springs of his performers, than ministers to acknowledge how often their success is owing to the most trifling, and even meanest incidents.

self; who, during these transactions, and ever since, was a person without titles or public employment. But, since the chief leaders of the faction, then out of power, were pleased, in both Houses of Parliament, to take every opportunity of shewing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the secret of all affairs, and without whose advice or privity nothing was done, or employment disposed of, it will not, perhaps, be improper to take notice of some passages, wherein the public and myself were jointly concerned; not to mention that the chief cause of giving myself this trouble, is to satisfy my particular friends; and at worst, if, after the fate of manuscripts, these papers shall, by accident or indiscretion, fall into the public view, they will be no more liable to censure than other memoirs, published for many years past, in English, French, and Italian. The period of time I design to treat on will commence with September 1710: from which time, till within two months of the queen's death, I was never absent from court, except about six weeks in Ireland.

But, because the great change of employments in her majesty's family, as well as in the kingdom, was begun some months before, and had been thought on from the time of Dr Sacheverel's trial, while I was absent, and lived retired in Ireland; I shall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, some particulars I learned from the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, the Lady Masham, and Doctor Atterbury, who were best able to inform me.

I have often with great earnestness pressed the Earl of Oxford, then lord-treasurer, and my Lady Masham, who were the sole persons which brought about that great change, to give me a particular account of every circumstance and passage, during

that whole transaction. Nor did this request proceed from curiosity, or the ambition of knowing and publishing important secrets; but from a sincere honest design of justifying the queen, in the measures she then took, and afterwards pursued, against a load of scandal, which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with some appearance of truth. It was easy to foresee, even at that distance, that the queen could not live many years; and it was sufficiently known what party was most in the good graces of the successor, and consequently, what turns would be given by historians to her majesty's proceedings, under a reign, where directly contrary measures would probably be taken. For instance, what would be more easy to a malicious pen, than to charge the queen with inconstancy, weakness, and ingratitude, in removing and disgracing the Duke of Marlborough, who had so many years commanded her armies with victory and success; in displacing so many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whose counsels she had, in all appearance, so prosperously governed; in extending the marks of her severity and displeasure, toward the wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that person she had so long employed, and so highly trusted; and all this, by the private intrigues of a woman of her bedchamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be supposed to have acted that bold part, only from a motive of revenge upon the loss of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power?

These were some of the arguments I often made use of, with great freedom, both to the Earl of Oxford and my Lady Masham, to incite them to furnish me with materials for a fair account of that great transaction; to which they always seemed as well disposed as myself. My Lady Masham did

likewise assure me, that she had frequently informed the queen of my request; which her majesty thought very reasonable, and did appear, upon all occasions, as desirous of preserving reputation with posterity, as might justly become a great prince to be. But that incurable disease, either of negligence or procrastination, which influenced every action both of the queen and the Earl of Oxford, did, in some sort, infect every one who had credit or business in the court: for, after soliciting near four years to obtain a point of so great importance to the queen and her servants, whence I could propose nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myself, it was perpetually put off.

The scheme I offered was, to write her majesty's reign; and that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the historiographer's place, although of inconsiderable value, and of which I might be sure to be deprived upon the queen's death.* This negligence in the queen, the Earl of Oxford, and my Lady Masham, is the cause that I can give but an imperfect account of the first springs of that great change at court, after the trial of Doctor Sacheverel; my memory not serving me to retain all the facts related to me: but what I remember, I shall here set down.

There was not, perhaps, in all England, a person who understood more artificially to disguise her passions than the late queen. Upon her first coming to the throne, the Duchess of Marlborough had lost all favour with her, as her majesty has often acknowledged to those who have told it me. That lady had long preserved an ascendant over her mistress while she was princess; which her majesty,

* See his petition to this purpose among the following tracts.

when she came to the crown, had neither patience to bear, nor spirit to subdue. This princess was so exact an observer of forms, that she seemed to have made it her study, and would often descend so low as to observe, in her domestics of either sex who came into her presence, whether a ruffle, a periwig, or the lining of a coat were unsuitable at certain times. The Duchess, on the other side, who had been used to great familiarities, could not take it into her head that any change of station should put her upon changing her behaviour; the continuance of which was the more offensive to her majesty, whose other servants, of the greatest quality, did then treat her with the utmost respect.*

* The Duchess of Marlborough continued to maintain her ascendancy by terror, long after the queen had ceased to regard her with affection. Indeed, it was hardly possible that their friendship should subsist in its original warmth, after Anne had ascended the throne. Previous to that event, they affected to correspond as private individuals, under the names of Mrs Freeman and Mrs Morley. The continuance of this masquerading intercourse was fraught with danger to their friendship, since it perpetually tempted Mrs Freeman to take freedoms with Mrs Morley, which the queen could ill endure from the Duchess of Marlborough. Yet shame at breaking off an intimacy of so long standing, and cemented by adversity undergone in common, apprehension of the consequences of a quarrel with the depository of many a secret, long habits of subjection, and, above all, fear of the Duchess's fierce and irregular sallies of passion, long laid the queen under restraints to which no private individual would have submitted for a day. The shifts which she was obliged to make to receive Harley and others unknown to her dictator, are strongly painted in the Duchess's account of her own conduct.--- "Through the whole summer after Mr Harley's dismissal, the queen continued to have secret correspondence with him. And that this might be the better managed, she staid all the sultry season, even when the prince was panting for breath, in that small house she had formerly purchased at Windsor, which, though as hot as an oven, was then said to be cool, because from the park

The Earl of Godolphin held in favour about three years longer, and then declined, although he kept his office till the general change. I have heard several reasons given for her majesty's early disgust against that lord. The Duchess, who had long been his friend, often prevailed on him to solicit the queen upon things very unacceptable to her; which her majesty liked the worse, as knowing whence they originally came: and his lordship, although he endeavoured to be as respectful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occasions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

To the Duke of Marlborough she was wholly indifferent, (as her nature in general prompted her to be,) until his restless impatient behaviour had turned her against him.

The queen had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time; and, farther than a bare good or ill opinion, which she soon contracted and changed, and very often upon light grounds, she could hardly be said either to love or to hate any body. She grew so jealous upon the change of her servants, that often, out of fear of being imposed

such persons as Mrs Masham had a mind to bring to her majesty could be let in privately by the garden.

"And when, upon the death of the prince, one would have thought that her Majesty's real grief would have made her avoid every place and every object that might sensibly revive the remembrance of her loss, she chose for her place of retirement his closet, and for some weeks spent many hours in it every day. I was amazed at this, and when I spoke to her of it, she seemed surprised, just like a person who on a sudden becomes sensible of her having done something she would not have done had she duly considered. But the true reason of her majesty's chusing this closet to sit in was, that the back-stairs belonging to it came from Mrs Masham's lodgings, who, by that means, could secretly bring to her whom she pleased."---*Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.*

upon, by an over caution she would impose upon herself: she took a delight in refusing those who were thought to have greatest power with her, even in the most reasonable things, and such, as were necessary for her service; nor would let them be done, till she fell into the humour of it herself.

Upon the grounds I have already related, her majesty had gradually conceived a most rooted aversion from the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin; which spread in time through all their allies and relations, particularly to the Earl of Hertford, whose ungovernable temper had made him fail in his personal respects to her majesty. This I take to have been the principal ground of the queen's resolutions to make a change of some officers both in her family and kingdom; and that these resolutions did not proceed from any real apprehension she had of danger to the church or monarchy: for, although she had been strictly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and discipline, yet she was not so ready to foresee any attempts against it by the party then presiding. But the fears that most influenced her, were such as concerned her own power and prerogative, which those nearest about her were making daily encroachments upon, by their undutiful behaviour and unreasonable demands. The deportment of the Duchess of Marlborough, while the prince lay expiring, was of such a nature, that the queen, then in the height of grief, was not able to bear it; but with marks of displeasure in her countenance, she ordered the Duchess to withdraw, and send Mrs Masham to her.

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before prince George's death. This prince had long conceived

an incurable aversion from that party, and was resolved to use his utmost credit with the queen his wife to get rid of them. There fell out an incident which seemed to favour this attempt; for the queen, resolving to bestow a regiment upon Mr Hill,* brother to Mrs Masham, signified her pleasure to the Duke of Marlborough; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refused his consent, and retired in anger to the country. After some heats, the regiment was given to a third person. But the queen resented this matter so highly, which she thought had been promoted by the Earl of Godolphin, that she resolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr St John carried a letter from her majesty to the Duke of Marlborough, signifying her resolution to take the staff from the Earl of Godolphin, and that she expected his grace's compliance; to which the Duke returned a very humble answer. I cannot engage for this passage, it having never come into my head to ask Mr St John about it; but the account Mr Harley and he gave me was, That the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, had concerted with them upon a moderating scheme,

* The regiment of the deceased Earl of Essex. When the Duke of Marlborough observed the queen determined to bestow the regiment upon Hill, brother of the rival favourite, he wrote to the queen a very haughty letter, saying, that this was but one of many mortifications to which he had been subjected, and that he begged her majesty to reflect what her subjects and the rest of the world must think, since the love, zeal, and duty with which he had served her, were unable to protect him against the malice of a bed-chamber woman. And he concluded with praying leave to retire; a threat, which, though successful in this instance, he used so often as to destroy its terror.

wherein some of both parties should be employed, but with a more favourable aspect toward the church : That a meeting was appointed for completing this work : That, in the mean time, the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, were secretly using their utmost efforts with the queen, to turn Mr Harley (who was then secretary of state) and all his friends, out of their employments : That the queen, on the other side, who had a great opinion of Mr Harley's integrity and abilities, would not consent, and was determined to remove the Earl of Godolphin. This was not above a month before the season of the year when the Duke of Marlborough was to embark for Flanders ; and the very night in which Mr Harley and his friends had appointed to meet his grace and the Earl of Godolphin, George Churchill the Duke's brother, who was in good credit with the prince, told his highness, "That the Duke was firmly determined to lay down his command, if the Earl of Godolphin went out, or Mr Harley and his friends were suffered to continue in." The prince, thus intimidated by Churchill, reported the matter to the queen ; and, the time and service pressing, her majesty was unwillingly forced to yield. The two great lords failed the appointment ; and the next morning, the Duke, at his levee, said aloud, in a careless manner, to those who stood round him, "That Mr Harley was turned out."*

* The Duchess of Marlborough gives the following account of this intrigue :—" Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had often told the queen, in the most respectful manner, that it was impossible for them to do her any service while Mr Harley was in her confidence. Her majesty nevertheless seemed determined not

Upon the prince's death, November 1708, the two great lords so often mentioned, who had been for some years united with the low church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promises, which his highness had ever most strenuously opposed. The Lord Somers was made president of the council, the Earl of Wharton lieutenant of Ireland, and some others of the same stamp were put into considerable posts.

It should seem to me, that the Duke and Earl were not very willingly drawn to impart so much power to those of that party, who expected these removals for some years before, and were always put off upon pretence of the prince's unwillingness to have them employed. And I remember, some months before his Highness's death, my Lord Somers, who is a person of reserve enough, complained to me, with great freedom, of the ingratitude of the Duke and Earl, who, after the service he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat them with common civility. Neither shall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me, that the Union was of no other service to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil which my Lord Godolphin had brought upon us,

to part with him, till at length these two lords, being urged by necessity to it, declared their resolution to serve no longer with him; and they absented themselves from the council. Mr Harley would have proceeded to business without them, when the council met; but the Duke of Somerset said, he did not see how it could be to any purpose, when neither the general nor the treasurer was present, whereupon the council immediately broke up. This had such an effect upon the Queen, that very soon after Mr Harley was dismissed from his post." Page 212.

by persuading the queen to pass the *Scotch act of security*. * But to return from this digression.

Upon the admission of these men into employments, the court soon ran into extremity of low church measures; and although, in the House of Commons, Mr Harley, Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr St John, and some others, made great and bold stands in defence of the constitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time, that the Duke of Marlborough, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the rash counsels of his wife the Duchess, made that bold attempt, of desiring the queen to give him a commission to be general for life. Her majesty's answer was, "That she would take time to consider it;" and in the mean while, the Duke advised with the Lord Cowper, then chancellor, about the form in which the commission should be drawn. The chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to dissuade the Duke from engaging in so dangerous an affair, and protested, "he would never put the great seal to such a commission." But the queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the Duke; and talked to a person whom she had taken into confidence, as if she apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The Duke of Argyle, and one or two more lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the queen. This Duke was under great obliga-

* It was the opinion of Swift, how unjustly time has shewn, that the union with Scotland was no otherwise advantageous to England than as it secured her against the danger of the northern part of the island passing to another sovereign. This he expressed so strongly in the "Public Spirit of the Whigs," as to bring on him the bitter resentment of all the Scottish peerage.

tions to the Duke of Marlborough, who had placed him in a high station in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But his unquiet and ambitious spirit, never easy while there was any one above him, made him, upon some trifling resentments, conceive an inveterate hatred against his general.* When he was consulted what course should be taken upon the Duke of Marlborough's request to be general for life, and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refusal; I was told, he suddenly answered, "That her majesty need not be in pain; for he would undertake, whenever she commanded, to seize the Duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away either dead or alive."

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr Sacheverel, which arose from a foolish passionate pique of the Earl of Godolphin, whom this divine was supposed, in a sermon, to have reflected on under the name of Volpone, as my Lord Somers, a few months after, confessed to me; and at the same time, that he had earnestly and in vain endeavoured to dissuade the Earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on, in the form and manner which every body knows; and therefore there need not be any thing said of it here.

Mr Harley, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs Masham, privately brought to the queen; and in some meetings, easily convinced her majesty

* The Duke of Argyle was once high in Swift's friendship, as appears from many passages in the *Journal to Stella*. But he had joined with his brethren in expressing strong resentment at the disrespectful terms in which Scotland and her peerage are mentioned in the "*Public Spirit of the Whigs*," and ever after our author disliked and satirised him.

of the dispositions of her people, as they appeared in the course of that trial, in favour of the church, and against the measures of those in her service. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr Harley was able to procure this private access to the queen; the Duchess of Marlborough, by her emissaries, watching all the avenues to the back-stairs, and upon all occasions discovering their jealousy of him; * whereof he told me a passage, no otherwise worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an insolent, jealous minister, who would wholly engross the power and favour of his sovereign. Mr Harley, upon his removal from the secretary's office, by the intrigues of the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of these two lords near Kensington gate. The earl, in a high fit of jealousy, goes immediately to the queen, reproaches her for privately seeing Mr Harley, and was hardly so civil as to be convinced, by her majesty's frequent protestations to the contrary.

These suspicions, I say, made it hard for her majesty and Mr Harley to have private interviews: neither had he made use of the opportunities he met with to open himself so much to her, as she

* Mrs Masham, whom the queen had admitted into her confidence, durst not be seen to enjoy any mark of it in presence of the Duchess of Marlborough. "I remember," says that extraordinary woman, "that being with the queen, to whom I had gone very privately, by a secret passage from my lodgings to the bed-chamber, on a sudden this woman, not knowing I was there, came in with the boldest and gayest air possible; but, on sight of me, stopped, and immediately changing her manner, and making a most solemn curtsy, said, 'Did your majesty ring?' and then went out again. This singular behaviour needed no interpreter how to make it understood." *Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.*

seemed to expect, and desired; although Mrs Masham, in right of her station in the bed-chamber, had taken all proper occasions of pursuing what Mr Harley had begun. In this critical juncture, the queen, hemmed in, and as it were imprisoned, by the Duchess of Marlborough and her creatures, was at a loss how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr Harley, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary messenger. He read the superscription, and saw it was the queen's writing. He sent for the messenger, who said, "he knew not whence the letter came, but that it was delivered him by an under gardener," I forget whether of Hampton Court or Kensington. The letter mentioned the difficulties her majesty was under; blaming him for "not speaking with more freedom and more particularly; and desiring his assistance." With this encouragement, he went more frequently, although still as private as possible, to the backstairs; and from that time began to have entire credit with the queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown, as well as to the church and monarchy itself, from the counsels and actions of some of her servants: "That she ought gradually to lessen the exorbitant power of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, by taking the disposition of employments into her own hands: That it did not become her to be a slave to a party, but to reward those who may deserve by their duty and loyalty, whether they were such as were called of the high church or low church." In short, whatever views he had then in his own breast, or how far soever he intended to proceed, the turn of his whole discourse was intended, in appearance, only to put the queen upon what they called a moderating scheme; which, however, made so strong an impression upon her, that when

this minister, led, by the necessity of affairs, the general disposition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her majesty upon going greater lengths than she had first intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and some insuperable; as we shall see in the progress of this change.

Her majesty, pursuant to Mr Harley's advice, resolved to dispose of the first great employment that fell, according to her own pleasure, without consulting any of her ministers. To put this in execution, an opportunity soon happened, by the death of the Earl of Essex, whereby the lieutenancy of the Tower became vacant. It was agreed between the queen and Mr Harley, that the Earl Rivers should go immediately to the Duke of Marlborough, and desire his grace's good offices with the queen, to procure him that post. The Earl went accordingly; was received with abundance of professions of kindness by the Duke, who said, "The lieutenancy of the Tower was not worth his lordship's acceptance;" and desired him to think of something else. The Earl still insisted, and the Duke still continued to put him off; at length, Lord Rivers desired his grace's consent to let him go himself and beg this favour of the queen; and hoped he might tell her majesty, "his grace had no objection to him." All this the Duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no consequence. The Earl went to the queen, who immediately gave orders for his commission. He had not long left the queen's presence, when the Duke of Marlborough, suspecting nothing that would happen, went to the queen, and told her, "The lieutenancy of the Tower falling void by the death of the Earl of Essex, he hoped her majesty would bestow it upon the Duke of Northumberland, and give the Oxford regiment, then commanded by that duke, to

the Earl of Hertford." The queen said, "He was come too late; that she had already granted the lieutenancy to Earl Rivers, who had told her, that he (the Duke) had no objection to him." The Duke, much surprised at this new manner of treatment, and making complaints in her majesty's presence, was however forced to submit.

The queen went on by slow degrees. Not to mention some changes of lesser moment, the Duke of Kent was forced to compound * for his chamberlain's staff, which was given to the Duke of Shrewsbury, while the Earl of Godolphin was out of town, I think at Newmarket. † His lordship, on the first news, came immediately up to court; but the thing was done, and he made as good a countenance to the Duke of Shrewsbury as he was capable of. The circumstances of the Earl of Sunderland's removal, and the reasons alleged, are known enough. His ungovernable temper had overruled him to fail in his respects to her majesty's person.

* Upon the 13th April, 1710, the queen wrote with her own hand to the Earl of Godolphin, stating, that she was sorry to find him "so much in the spleen;" that since his going to Newmarket she had received offers of service from the Duke of Shrewsbury, which she was glad to accept of; and concluding, "for these reasons I have resolved to part with the Marquis of Kent, who, I hope, will be made easy in this matter by being made a Duke; and I hope that this change will meet with your approbation, which I wish I may ever have in all my actions."

† Upon the 15th March, 1710, he wrote to the queen, from Newmarket, a strong remonstrance, in which he stated, that she was "suffering herself to be guided to her own ruin and destruction, as fast as it was possible for her advisers to compass it. That if she should entirely change her ministers, she would disgust her allies abroad and her subjects at home; and that, as she was pleased to take so important a step without consulting the Duke of Marlborough or himself, he humbly requested leave to retire from London."—*Conduct of the Duchess*, &c. p. 249.

Meantime both parties stood at gaze, not knowing to what these steps would lead, or where they would end. The Earl of Wharton, then in Ireland, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneasiness as well as he could. Some of his sanguine correspondents had sent him word, that the queen began to stop her hand, and the church party to despond. At the same time, the Duke of Shrewsbury happened to send him a letter filled with great expressions of civility. The Earl was so weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three standers-by, "Damn him, he is making fair weather with me; but, by G—d, I will have his head." But these short hopes were soon blasted, by taking the treasurer's staff from the Earl of Godolphin; which was done in a manner not very gracious, her majesty sending him a letter, by a very ordinary messenger, commanding him to break it.* The treasury was immediately put into commission, with Earl Poulett at the head; but Mr Harley, who was one of the number, and at the same time made chancellor of the exchequer, was already supposed to preside behind the curtain.

Upon the fall of that great minister and favourite, that whole party became dispirited, and seemed to expect the worst that could follow. The Earl of Wharton immediately desired and obtained leave to come for England; leaving that kingdom,

* The ungracious manner in which the command was delivered, viz. by a livery servant to his Lordship's porter, occasioned what was, perhaps, foreseen by Mrs Masham and Harley. Godolphin, in a disrespectful manner, broke the staff, and flung the pieces into the chimney, which imprudent indulgence of passion injured him still farther with the Queen.

where he had^{*} behaved himself with the utmost profligateness, injustice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and detestation of all good men, even of his own party. *

And here, because my coming into the knowledge of the new ministry began about this time, I must digress a little, to relate some circumstances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no stranger at court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my study, yet I had dealt very little with politics, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late king William's death; when, returning with the Earl of Berkeley from Ireland, and falling upon the subject of the five great lords who were then impeached, for high crimes and misdemeanors, by the House of Commons, I happened to say, "That the same manner of proceeding, at least as it appeared to me from the news we received of it in Ireland, had ruined the liberties of Athens and Rome; and that it might be easy to prove it from history." Soon after I went to London; and, in a few weeks, drew up a discourse, under the title of, *the Contests and Dissensions of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Consequences they had upon both those States*. † This discourse I sent very privately to the press, with the strictest injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately to my residence in Ireland. The book was greedily bought, and read; and charged some time upon my Lord Somers, and some time upon the Bishop of Salisbury;

* See a subsequent treatise called, "A short Character of the Earl of Wharton, &c."

† It follows these introductory memoirs, with a short statement of the cause in which it was written.

the latter of whom told me afterward, "that he was forced to disown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment, wherewith he was threatened."

Returning next year for England, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received, (which was the first I ever printed) I must confess, the vanity of a young man prevailed with me, to let myself be known for the author: upon which, my Lords Somers and Halifax, as well as the bishop abovementioned, desired my acquaintance, with great marks of esteem and professions of kindness—not to mention the Earl of Sunderland, who had been my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to serve me since the death of the king; and were very liberal in promising me the greatest preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power. I soon grew domestic with Lord Halifax, and was as often with Lord Somers, as the formality of his nature (the only unconvertible fault he had) made it agreeable to me. *

It was then I began to trouble myself with the differences between the principles of Whig and Tory; having formerly employed myself in other, and I think much better speculations. I talked often upon this subject with Lord Somers; told him, "That, having been long conversant with the Greek and Roman authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to be what they call a Whig in politics; and that, besides, I thought it impossible, upon any other principle, to defend, or submit to, the Revolution: but, as to re-

* Swift elsewhere intimates, that this formal demeanour arose from the prudential restraint which Somers laid upon his passions, naturally violent.

ligion, I confessed myself to be a high churchman, and that I did not conceive, how any one who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwise : That I had observed very well with what insolence and haughtiness, some lords of the high church party treated not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatsoever, and thought this was sufficiently recompensed by their professions of zeal to the church : That I had likewise observed how the Whig lords took a direct contrary measure, treated the persons of particular clergymen with great courtesy, but showed much ill will and contempt for the order in general : That I knew it was necessary for their party, to make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of Protestants to be members of their body : That I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either side ; but that the connivance, or encouragement, given by the Whigs to those writers of pamphlets, who reflected upon the whole body of the clergy without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppose them : And that, I doubted, his lordship's friends did not consider the consequence of this."

My Lord Somers in appearance entered very warmly into the same opinion, and said very much of the endeavours he had often used to redress that evil I complained of. This his lordship, as well as my Lord Halifax, (to whom I have talked in the same manner,) can very well remember : and I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the same party, " That both their lordships, about the time of Lord Godolphin's removal, did, upon occasion, call to mind what I had said to them five years before."

In my journeys to England, I continued upon the same foot of acquaintance with the two lords

last mentioned, until the time of Prince George's death;* when the queen, who, as is before related, had for some years favoured that party, now made Lord Somers president of the council, and the Earl of Wharton lieutenant of Ireland. Being then in London, I received letters from some bishops of Ireland, to solicit the Earl of Wharton about the remittal of the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the queen had long promised, and wherein I had been employed before, with some hopes of success from the Earl of Godolphin. It was the first time I ever was in company with the Earl of Wharton: he received me with sufficient coldness, and answered the request I made in behalf of the clergy, with very poor and lame excuses, which amounted to a refusal. I complained of this usage to Lord Somers, who would needs bring us together to his house, and presented me to him; where he received me as dryly as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the Earl of Wharton would endeavour, when he went to Ireland, to take off the test, as a step to have it taken off here: upon which, I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, showing the danger to the church by such an intent.† Although I took all care to be private, yet the lieutenant's chaplain, and some others, guessed me to be the author, and told his excellency their suspicions, whereupon I saw him no more until I went to Ireland. At my taking

* Prince George of Denmark, who had been ill treated by the Whig ministers in the reign of King William, threw all his conjugal interest into the scale against that party. He died 28th October, 1708.

† This is the earliest of Swift's treatises on the subject of the Test.

leave of Lord Somers, he desired I would carry a letter from him to the Earl of Wharton, which I absolutely refused; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I staid some months in Leicestershire, went to Ireland; and immediately upon my landing, retired to my country parish, without seeing the lieutenant, or any other person; resolving to send him Lord Somers's letter by the post. But, being called up to town, by the incessant intreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greatest part of his government, I lived in the country, saw the lieutenant very seldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the least degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his secretary Mr Addison, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance. Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to caress me; which I understood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church party.

I mentioned these insignificant particulars, as it will be easily judged, for some reasons that are purely personal to myself; it having been objected by several of those poor pamphleteers, who have blotted so much paper to show their malice against me, that I was a favquer of the low party: whereas it has been manifest to all men, that, during the highest dominion of that faction, I had published several tracts in opposition to the measures then taken; for instance, *A Project for the Reformation of Manners, in a Letter to the Countess of Berkeley*; *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England-man*; *An Argument against abolishing Christianity*; and lastly, *A Letter to a Member of Parliament against taking off the Test in Ireland*, which I have already mentioned to have been published at the

time the Earl of Wharton was setting out to his government of that kingdom. But those who are loud and violent in coffeehouses, although generally they do a cause more hurt than good, yet will seldom allow any other merit; and it is not to such as these that I attempt to vindicate myself.

About the end of August 1710,* I went for England, at the desire, and by the appointment, of the archbishops and bishops of that kingdom; under whose hands I had a commission to solicit, in conjunction with two bishops who were then in London, the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy, which had been many years solicited in vain. Upon my arrival in town, I found the two bishops were gone into the country; whereupon I got myself introduced to Mr Harley, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, and acted as first minister. He received me with great kindness; told me, "that he and his friends had long expected my arrival;" and, upon showing my commission, immediately undertook to perform it; which he accordingly did in less than three weeks, having settled it at five meetings with the queen, according to a scheme I offered him, and got me the queen's promise for a farther and more important favour to the clergy of Ireland; which the bishops there, deceived by misinformation, not worth mentioning in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good issue.†

When the affair of the first-fruits was fully dispatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr Har-

* When the Journal to Stella commences.

† Swift had hopes to obtain also the remission of the twentieth parts; but an ungracious attempt on the part of the bishops to deprive him of the merit of obtaining the grant of the first-fruits, disgusted and deterred him from farther interference.

ley, in the name of the clergy of Ireland, and in my own ; and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr Harley told me, " He and his friends knew very well what useful things I had written against the principles of the late discarded faction ; and that my personal esteem for several among them would not make me a favourer of their cause : That there was now entirely a new scene : That the queen was resolved to employ none but those who were friends to the constitution of church and state : That their great difficulty lay in the want of some good pen, to keep up the spirit raised in the people, to assert the principles, and justify the proceedings, of the new ministers." Upon that subject he fell into some personal civilities, which will not become me to repeat. He added, " that this province was in the hands of several persons, among whom some were too busy, and others too idle, to pursue it ;" and concluded, " That it should be his particular care, to establish me here in England, and represent me to the queen as a person they could not be without."

I promised to do my endeavours in that way for some few months. To which he replied, " He expected no more ; and that he had other and greater occasions for me."

Upon the rise of this ministry, the principal persons in power thought it necessary that some weekly paper should be published, with just reflections upon former proceedings, and defending the present measures of her majesty. This was begun about the time of the Lord Godolphin's removal, under the name of the Examiner. About a dozen of these papers, written with much spirit and sharpness, some by Mr Secretary St John, since Lord Bolingbroke ; others by Dr Atterbury, since bishop

of Rochester; and others again by Mr Prior, Dr Freind, &c.; were published with great applause. But, these gentlemen being grown weary of the work, or otherwise employed, the determination was, that I should continue it; which I did accordingly about eight months. But, my style being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in some manner until her majesty's death.

It was Mr Harley's custom every Saturday, that four or five of his most intimate friends, among those he had taken in upon the great change made at court, should dine at his house; and after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at first, consisted only of the Lord-keeper Harcourt, the Earl Rivers, the Earl of Peterborough, Mr Secretary St John, and myself; and here, after dinner, they used to discourse and settle matters of great importance. Several other lords were afterward, by degrees, admitted; as, the Dukes of Ormond, Shrewsbury, and Argyll; the Earls of Anglesey, Dartmouth, and Poulett; the Lord Berkeley, &c. These meetings were always continued, except when the queen was at Windsor; but, as they grew more numerous, became of less consequence, and ended only in drinking and general conversation: of which I may, perhaps, have occasion to speak hereafter.

My early appearance at these meetings, which many thought to be of greater consequence than really they were, could not be concealed, although I used all my endeavours to that purpose. This gave the occasion to some great men, who thought me already in the secret, to complain to me of the suspicions entertained by many of our friends in re-

lation to Mr Harley, even before he was lord-treasurer ; so early were sown those seeds of discontent, which afterwards grew up so high ! The cause of their complaint was, That so great a number of the adverse party continued in employment ; and some, particularly the Duke of Somerset and Earl of Cholmondeley, in great stations at court.— They could not believe Mr Harley was in earnest ; but that he designed to constitute a motley comprehensive administration, which, they said, the kingdom would never endure. I was once invited to a meeting of some lords and gentlemen, where these grievances were at large related to me, with an earnest desire that I would represent them in the most respectful manner to Mr Harley, upon a supposition that I was in high credit with him. I excused myself from such an office, upon the newness of my acquaintance with Mr Harley.* However, I represented the matter fairly to him ; against which he argued a good deal, from the general reasons of politicians ; the necessity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of disobliging those who must remain unprovided for, and the like usual topics among statesmen. But there was a secret in this matter, which neither I, nor indeed any of his most intimate friends were then apprized of ; neither did he, at that time, enter with me farther than to assure me very solemnly, “ That no person should have the smallest employment, either civil or military, whose principles were not firm for the church and monarchy.”

* This seems to have been upon the occasion mentioned in the preface of the Letter to the October Club. “ It was well known that the supposed author met a considerable number of this club in a public house, where he convinced them very plainly of the treasurer's sincerity.”

However, these over moderate proceedings in the court, gave rise to a party in the House of Commons, which appeared under the name of the October Club; a fantastic appellation, found out to distinguish a number of country gentlemen and their adherents, who professed, in the greatest degree, what was called the high church principles. They grew in number to almost a third part of the House, held their meetings at certain times and places, and there concerted what measures they were to take in parliament. They professed their jealousy of the court and ministry; declared, upon all occasions, their desire of a more general change, as well as of a strict inquiry into former mismanagement; and seemed to expect, that those in power should openly avow the old principles in church and state. I was then of opinion, and still continue so, that if this body of men could have remained some time united, they would have put the crown under a necessity of acting in a more steady and strenuous manner. But Mr Harley, who best knew the disposition of the queen, was forced to break their measures: which he did by that very obvious contrivance, of dividing them among themselves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The ministers gave every where out, that the October Club were their friends, and acted by their directions: to confirm which, Mr Secretary St John, and Mr Bromley, afterward chancellor of the exchequer, publicly dined with them at one of their meetings. Thus were eluded all the consequences of that assembly; although a remnant of them, who conceived themselves betrayed by the rest, did afterward meet under the denomination of the March Club, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then rose, had been chosen without any endeavours from the court, to se-

cure elections ; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenancies changed throughout the kingdom : for the trial of Dr Sacheverell had raised, or discovered, such a spirit in all parts, that the ministers could very safely leave the electors to themselves, and thereby gain a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by some refiners of both parties, numbered among the strains of Mr Harley's politics, who was said to avoid an over great majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a ministry. But, from the small experience I have of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worst sort of all conjectures ; and, from this one occasion, I take leave to observe, That of some hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I never yet knew any refiner to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reason, why the court did not interpose in the matter of elections, was, because they thought themselves sure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate. Besides, it afterwards appeared, upon some exigencies which the court had much at heart, that they were more than once likely to fail for want of numbers. Mr Harley, in order to give credit to his administration, resolved upon two very important points : first, to secure the unprovided debts of the nation ; and secondly, to put an end to the war. Of the methods he took to compass both those ends, I have treated at large in another work : * I shall only observe, that while he was preparing to open to the House of Commons his scheme for securing the public debts, he was stabbed by the Marquis de Guiscard, while he was

* See History of the Four Last Years, &c.

sitting in the council-chamber at the Cockpit, with a committee of nine or ten lords of the cabinet, met on purpose to examine the Marquis, upon a discovery of a treasonable correspondence he held with France.

This fact was so uncommon in the manner and circumstances of it, that although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furnished the author with some materials, yet I thought it would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The assassin was seized, by Mr Harley's order, upon the eighth of March, 1710-11: and, brought before the committee of lords, was examined about his corresponding with France. Upon his denial, Mr Harley produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The Marquis, prepared for mischief, had conveyed a penknife into his pocket, while the messenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the surprise of his letter appearing against him, he came suddenly behind Mr Harley, and reaching his arm round, stabbed that minister into the middle of the breast, about a quarter of an inch above the *cartilago ensiformis*; the penknife, striking upon the bone, and otherwise obstructed by a thick embroidered waistcoat, broke short at the handle; which Guiscard still grasped, and redoubled his blow. The confusion upon this accident is easier conceived than described. The result was, that the Marquis, whether by the wounds given him by some of the lords, or the bruises he received from the messengers while they were seizing him, or the neglect of his surgeon, or that, being unwilling to live, he industriously concealed one of his wounds, died in a few days after. But Mr Harley, after a long illness, and frequent ill symptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiscard was the younger brother of the count of that name, a very honourable and worthy person, formerly governor of Namur. But this Marquis was a reproach to his family, prostitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his prince; as to the rest, of a very poor understanding, and the most tedious, trifling talker, I ever conversed with. He was grown needy by squandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in Holland, his regiment taken from him, and his pension retrenched; the despair of which first put him upon his French correspondence; and the discovery of that, drove him into madness. I had known him some years; and meeting him upon the Mall a few hours before his examination, I observed to a friend then with me, "that I wondered to see Guiscard pass so often by, without taking notice of me." But although in the latter part of his life his countenance grew cloudy enough, yet, I confess, I never suspected him to be a man of resolution or courage sufficient, to bear him out in so desperate an attempt.

I have some very good reasons to know, that the first misunderstanding between Mr Harley and Mr St John, which afterward had such unhappy consequences upon the public affairs, took its rise during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr St John affected to say in several companies, "that Guiscard intended the blow against him;" which if it were true, the consequence must be, that Mr St John had all the merit, while Mr Harley remained with nothing but the danger and the pain. But, I am apt to think, Mr St John was either mistaken, or misinformed. However, the matter was thus represented in the weekly paper called the Examiner; which Mr St

John perused before it was printed, but made no alteration in that passage. *

This management was looked upon, at least, as a piece of youthful indiscretion in Mr St John; and perhaps, was represented in a worse view to Mr Harley. Neither am I altogether sure, that Mr St John did not entertain some prospect of succeeding as first minister, in case of Mr Harley's death; which, during his illness, was frequently apprehended. And I remember very well, that upon visiting Mr Harley, as soon as he was in a condition to be seen, I found several of his nearest relations talk very freely of some proceedings of Mr St John; enough to make me apprehend that their friendship would not be of any long continuance.

Mr Harley, soon after his recovery, was made an earl, and lord-treasurer; and the lord-keeper, a baron.

* To a cool observer, it would seem there was little reason for this emulation, since Guiscard's action was only prompted by fury and despair, venting itself upon the object nearest him. But at the time, as his attempt was deemed one branch of a premeditated plan to take off the ministers most dreaded by France, it was natural that St John should be jealous of the honour which Harley acquired, by being the object of assault. There were several reasons to believe that Guiscard, if he had any choice in the matter, would rather have poniarded St John than Harley. 1st, He had been the intimate of St John, and the companion of his pleasures, and it was therefore peculiarly galling to be dragged before him as a culprit. 2dly, He entreated a private audience of the Secretary, doubtless to attempt his life. 3dly, Mr Harley had changed places with the Secretary before the blow was given; and, in striking the former, Guiscard exclaimed, *J'en veux donc a toi*, which seems to imply, his finding himself obliged to change his original object. And lastly, the assassin owned when in prison, that his first intention was directed against St John.

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
CONTESTS AND DISSENTIONS
BETWEEN THE
NOBLES AND THE COMMONS
IN
ATHENS AND ROME;
WITH THE CONSEQUENCES THEY HAD UPON BOTH
THOSE STATES.

*— Si tibi vera videtur,
Dede munus, et si falsa est, accingere contra.* LUCR.

First printed for J. NUTT in the Year 1701.

A DISCOURSE, &c.

The last years of King William's reign were productive of more disappointment and vexation to that monarch than either his phlegm or prudence were able to endure. Not only was he compelled to dismiss his favourite Dutch guards, the companions of all his labours and dangers, but the resumption of those grants of the forfeited lands in Ireland, in which he had rather consulted a wish to reward his favourite adherents, than the genius of the people whom he governed, was made the subject of perpetual motions in parliament. At length, the court lost altogether the management and controul of the House of Commons; but as it retained its influence in the House of Peers, these two branches of the constitution became engaged in distinct and animated opposition to each other. It was in vain that, to appease the Lower House, in which a motion had been made for an address against Lord Somers, the king took the seals from that great and wise statesman; for in the session of parliament 1701, a motion was made and carried, to impeach him, on account of his share in the treaty for a partition of Spain. At the same time, the House impeached Edward Earl of Orford, and Charles Lord Halifax, as advisers of the said treaty, together with William Earl of Portland, by whom it was transacted. And they addressed the king to remove the persons thus accused from his presence and councils. The House of Peers presented a counter address, praying his majesty to suspend any censure upon the impeached Lords, until the issue of their trial. The subsequent proceedings displayed the same spirit of dissension. On the 5th of May, the Lords sent to remind the House of Commons, that no articles had yet been presented against the impeached nobles; and when such articles were presented, they proceeded with unusual dispatch to communicate the answers of the accused, and to press the Lower House to join issue by replication; repeatedly reminding them of the right of the House of Lords to limit the time of trial, lest parties should suffer by unreasonable delay. The Commons, on the other hand, complained, that the course adopted by the Lords was calculated to create disputes, and invited the Peers to

accede to the nomination of a Committee of both Houses, to settle the proper way and method of proceeding on impeachment, agreeable to the usage of Parliament. This course, after discussing the point by message and conference, the Lords positively declined, insisted upon their right of naming a day for peremptorily proceeding upon the trials, and fixed accordingly the 13th May 1701 for going forward to that of Lord Somers. The Commons exclaimed against this conduct, as an attempt to favour the accused, by straitening the Lower House in the time necessary to prepare evidence in support of their charge. But, after much angry discussion, the House of Lords persisted in claiming and exercising the right of fixing a peremptory time for the trial; and although the Commons passed a vote, prohibiting any of their members from appearing on the days appointed, yet the Lords proceeded formally to the trial and acquittal of the Earl of Orford and Lord Somers, at the time which they had assigned; and on the last day of the session, dismissed by order the impeachment against Lord Portland, because unsupported by specific articles; and that against Lord Halifax, because the Commons had failed to join issue, by replying to his defences. The object of this indecent struggle between the two Houses was less, perhaps, a wish to maintain or extend their peculiar privileges, than that of gaining the advantage of the popular voice in their political measures. The House of Commons was ill prepared to support the impeachment, and the House of Lords was probably determined to dismiss it, howsoever it might be sustained. The accusers therefore were not unwilling that the trial should appear to go off through the precipitation of the Judges; nor were the Judges sorry to have a pretence to lay the blame on the dilatory conduct of the accusers. The contest, however, between the two Houses, could not be carried on without allusion to former aggressions, and other causes of jealousy and rivalry; and as the Commons took more than one opportunity of embarrassing the Peers, by tacking favourite resolutions to their money-bills, it was brought into doubt how far the exclusive right of granting supplies might not enable the Lower House to grasp into their own possession the whole powers of legislation.

Whilst this disgraceful contest was at its height, the king, whose mind was bent upon the approaching war with France, beheld it with regret and astonishment, in which the most sound politicians deeply participated. Among others, Swift, educated under Sir William Temple, long conversant in the literature of Greece and Rome, and in politics a revolution-whig, expressed his uneasy apprehension, that the same jars which ruined the free states of antiquity, were now about to destroy the liberties of his own country. This idea he expanded in the following pamphlet, which was

published in the summer recess of 1701. Its effect may be best estimated from our knowing that it was ascribed for some time to Lord Somers, and afterwards to Bishop Burnet, accounted the most experienced and able politicians among the Whig party. The bishop was even obliged to disown it publicly, in order to prevent the risk of an impeachment by the House of Commons. The treatise had probably some share in bringing the House of Commons to a milder temper at their next session, and in turning their thoughts to great national concerns, from the factious and petty discussions which had previously engaged them. And when, in 1702, those heats had subsided, which rendered concealment necessary, Swift found that his acknowledging this pamphlet at once introduced him to the friendship and esteem of Somers and Halifax.

The subject on which the essay is written, was peculiar to the time, and has not in the present day retained its interest. We have little reason, in modern times, to apprehend that danger will arise to our constitution from a difference between the popular and aristocratic branches of representation: And, perhaps, should such a contest occur, its effects would hardly be appeased by an elaborate set of examples drawn from the history of the states of antiquity, however artfully selected and adapted to the circumstances of modern events. Ancient, and, above all, classical authority, was in Swift's time admitted as unanswerable argument; and what we should now, perhaps, censure as the effusions of a college pedant, was, in the beginning of last century, allowed as serious reference to weighty precedents. The ingenuity, however, of the parallels which Swift has contrived to extract from the history of Greece and Rome, retains its merit, and continues to amuse us, though the political interest of the disquisition is no more. But although we may agree with Lord Orrery, that this whole treatise is full of historical knowledge and excellent reflections, few readers will have the self-denial to rejoice in its not being "mixed with any improper sallies of wit, or any light airs of humour;" although the aristocratic pride of the noble biographer would probably have deemed these highly improper in a treatise affecting the privileges of the peerage.

One circumstance is worthy of notice;—six instances are selected from ancient history, to illustrate the four impeachments then under parliamentary discussion. There was, perhaps, danger in making the circumstances tally very closely, for the temper of the Commons was for the time too hot to endure argument. The cases of Miltiades and Themistocles seem both to apply to the Earl of Oxford; those of Pericles and Alcibiades, to Halifax.

A DISCOURSE, &c.

CHAP. I.

IT is agreed, that in all government there is an absolute unlimited power, which naturally and originally seems to be placed in the whole body, wherever the executive part of it lies. This holds in the body natural; for wherever we place the beginning of motion, whether from the head, or the heart, or the animal spirits in general, the body moves and acts by a consent of all its parts. This unlimited power, placed fundamentally in the body of a people, is what the best legislators of all ages have endeavoured, in their several schemes or institutions of government, to deposite in such hands as would preserve the people from rapine and oppression within, as well as violence from without. Most of them seem to agree in this, that it was a trust too great to be committed to any one man or assembly, and therefore they left the right still in the whole body; but the administration or executive part, in the hands of the one, the few, or the many; into which three powers all independent bodies of men seem naturally to divide: for, by all

I have read of those innumerable and petty commonwealths in Italy, Greece, and Sicily, as well as the great ones of Carthage and Rome, it seems to me, that a free people met together, whether by compact, or family-government, as soon as they fall into any acts of civil society, do of themselves divide into three powers. The first, is that of some one eminent spirit, who, having signalized his valour and fortune in defence of his country, or by the practice of popular arts at home, comes to have great influence on the people, to grow their leader in warlike expeditions, and to preside, after a sort, in their civil assemblies; and this is grounded upon the principles of nature and common reason, which in all difficulties or dangers, where prudence or courage is required, rather incite us to fly for counsel or assistance to a single person, than a multitude. The second natural division of power is, of such men, who have acquired large possessions, and consequently dependencies, or descend from ancestors who have left them great inheritances, together with an hereditary authority. These easily uniting in thoughts and opinions, and acting in concert, begin to enter upon measures for securing their properties, which are best upheld by preparing against invasions from abroad, and maintaining peace at home; this commences a great council, or senate of nobles, for the weighty affairs of the nation. The last division is, of the mass or body of the people, whose part of power is great and indisputable, whenever they can unite either collectively, or by deputation, to exert it. Now the three forms of government, so generally known in the schools, differ only by the civil administration being placed in the hands of one, or sometimes two, (as in Sparta,) who were called kings; or in a senate, who were called the nobles; or in the peo-

ple collective or representative, who may be called the commons. Each of these had frequently the executive power in Greece, and sometimes in Rome: but the power in the last resort, was always meant by legislators to be held in balance among all three. And it will be an eternal rule in politics among every free people, that there is a balance of power to be carefully held by every state within itself, as well as among several states with each other.

The true meaning of a balance of power, either without or within a state, is best conceived by considering, what the nature of a balance is. It supposes three things: First, the part which is held, together with the hand that holds it; and then the two scales, with whatever is weighed therein. Now consider several states in a neighbourhood; in order to preserve peace between these states, it is necessary they should be formed into a balance, whereof one or more are to be directors, who are to divide the rest into equal scales, and upon occasion remove from one into the other, or else fall with their own weight into the lightest; so in a state within itself, the balance must be held by a third hand, who is to deal the remaining power with the utmost exactness into the several scales. Now it is not necessary that the power should be equally divided between these three; for the balance may be held by the weakest, who, by his address and conduct, removing from either scale, and adding of his own, may keep the scales duly poised. Such was that of the two kings of Sparta, the consular power in Rome, that of the kings of Media before the reign of Cyrus, as represented by Xenophon; and that of the several limited states in the Gothic institution.

When the balance is broken, whether by the

negligence, folly, or weakness of the hand that held it, or by mighty weights fallen into either scale, the power will never continue long in equal division between the two remaining parties, but, till the balance is fixed anew, will run entirely into one. This gives the truest account of what is understood in the most ancient and approved Greek authors, by the word Tyranny; which is not meant for the seizing of the uncontrolled or absolute power into the hands of a single person, (as many superficial men have grossly mistaken,) but for the breaking of the balance by whatever hand, and leaving the power wholly in one scale: For, tyranny and usurpation in a state are by no means confined to any number, as might easily appear from examples enough; and because the point is material, I shall cite a few to prove it.

The Romans, * having sent to Athens, and the Greek cities of Italy, for the copies of the best laws, chose ten legislators to put them into form, and, during the exercise of their office, suspended the consular power, leaving the administration of affairs in their hands. These very men, though chosen for such a work, as the digesting a body of laws for the government of a free state, did immediately usurp arbitrary power, ran into all the forms of it, had their guards and spies after the practice of the tyrants of those ages, affected kingly state, destroyed the nobles, and oppressed the people; one of them proceeding so far, as to endeavour to force a lady of great virtue: the very crime which gave occasion to the expulsion of the regal power but sixty years before, as this attempt did to that of the Decemviri.

* Dionys. Hal. lib. 10.

The Ephori in Sparta were at first only certain persons deputed by the kings to judge in civil matters, while they were employed in the wars. These men, at several times, usurped the absolute authority, and were as cruel tyrants as any in their age.

Soon after the unfortunate expedition into Sicily, * the Athenians chose four hundred men for administration of affairs, who became a body of tyrants, and were called, in the language of those ages, an oligarchy, or tyranny of the few; under which hateful denomination they were soon after deposed in great rage by the people.

When Athens was subdued by Lysander, † he appointed thirty men for the administration of that city, who immediately fell into the rankest tyranny: but this was not all; for, conceiving their power not founded on a basis large enough, they admitted three thousand into a share of the government; and, thus fortified, became the cruellest tyranny upon record. They murdered in cold blood great numbers of the best men, without any provocation, from the mere lust of cruelty, like Nero or Caligula. This was such a number of tyrants together, as amounted to near a third part of the whole city; for Xenophon tells us, ‡ that the city contained about ten thousand houses; and allowing one man to every house, who could have any share in the government, (the rest consisting of women, children, and servants,) and making other obvious abatements, these tyrants, if they had been careful to adhere together, might have been a majority even of the people collective.

* Thucyd. lib. 8.

† Xenoph. de Rebus Græc. l. 2.

‡ Memorab. lib. 3.

In the time of the second Punic war,* the balance of power in Carthage was got on the side of the people; and this to a degree, that some authors reckon the government to have been then among them a *dominatio plebis*, or tyranny of the commons; which it seems they were at all times apt to fall into, and was at last among the causes that ruined their state: and the frequent murders of their generals, which Diodorus† tells us was grown to an established custom among them, may be another instance, that tyranny is not confined to numbers.

I shall mention but one example more among a great number that might be produced; it is related by the author last cited.‡ The orators of the people at Argos (whether you will style them in modern phrase, great speakers of the house; or only, in general, representatives of the people collective) stirred up the commons against the nobles, of whom 1600 were murdered at once; and at last, the orators themselves, because they left off their accusations, or, to speak intelligibly, because they withdrew their impeachments; having, it seems, raised a spirit they were not able to lay. And this last circumstance, as cases have lately stood, may perhaps be worth noting.

From what has been already advanced, several conclusions may be drawn:—

First, That a mixed government, partaking of the known forms received in the schools, is by no means of Gothic invention, but has place in nature and reason, seems very well to agree with the sentiments of most legislators, and to have been fol-

* Polyb. Frag. lib. 6.

† Lib. 20.

‡ Lib. 15.

lowed in most states, whether they have appeared under the name of monarchies, aristocracies, or democracies; for, not to mention the several republics of this composition in Gaul and Germany, described by Cæsar and Tacitus, Polybius tells us, the best government is that, which consists of three forms, *regis, optimatum, et populi imperio*,* which may be fairly translated, the king, lords, and commons. Such was that of Sparta, in its primitive institution by Lycurgus, who, observing the corruptions and depravations to which every of these was subject, compounded his scheme out of all, so that it was made up of *reges, seniores, et populus*. Such also was the state of Rome under its consuls; and the author tells us, that the Romans fell upon this model purely by chance, (which I take to have been nature and common reason,) but the Spartans by thought and design. And such at Carthage was the *summa reipublicæ*,† or power in the last resort; for they had their kings, called *suffetes*, and a senate, which had the power of nobles, and the people had a share established too.

Secondly, It will follow, that those reasoners, who employ so much of their zeal, their wit, and their leisure, for the upholding the balance of power in Christendom, at the same time that by their practices they are endeavouring to destroy it at home, are not such mighty patriots, or so much in the true interest of their country, as they would affect to be thought; but seem to be employed like a man, who pulls down with his right hand, what he has been building with his left.

Thirdly, This makes appear the error of those, who think it an uncontrollable maxim, that power

* Frag. lib. vi.

† Id. ib.

is always safer lodged in many hands than in one: for, if these many hands be made up only from one of the three divisions before-mentioned, it is plain from those examples already produced, and easy to be paralleled in other ages and countries, that they are capable of enslaving the nation, and of acting all manner of tyranny and oppression, as it is possible for a single person to be, though we should suppose their number not only to be of four or five hundred, but above three thousand.

Again, it is manifest, from what has been said, that, in order to preserve the balance in a mixed state, the limits of power deposited with each party ought to be ascertained, and generally known. The defect of this is the cause that introduces those strugglings in a state, about prerogative and liberty; about encroachments of the few upon the rights of the many, and of the many upon the privileges of the few, which ever did, and ever will, conclude in a tyranny; first, either of the few, or the many; but at last, infallibly of a single person: for whichever of the three divisions in a state is upon the scramble for more power than its own, (as one or other of them generally is,) unless due care be taken by the other two, upon every new question that arises, they will be sure to decide in favour of themselves, talk much of inherent right; they will nourish up a dormant power, and reserve privileges *in petto*, to exert upon occasions, to serve expedients, and to urge upon necessities; they will make large demands, and scanty concessions, ever coming off considerable gainers: thus at length the balance is broke, and tyranny let in; from which door of the three it matters not.

To pretend to a declarative right, upon any occasion whatsoever, is little less than to make use of

the whole power ; that is, to declare an opinion to be law, which has always been contested, or perhaps never started at all before such an incident brought it on the stage. Not to consent to the enacting of such a law, which has no view beside the general good, unless another law shall at the same time pass, with no other view but that of advancing the power of one party alone ; what is this but to claim a positive voice, as well as a negative ? * To pretend that great changes and alienations of property have created new and great dependencies, and consequently new additions of power, as some reasoners have done, is a most dangerous tenet. † If dominion must follow property, let it follow in the same pace ; for, change in property through the bulk of a nation makes slow marches, and its due power always attends it. To conclude that whatever attempt is begun by an assembly, ought to be pursued to the end, without regard to the greatest incidents that may happen to alter the case ; to

* On the second of April, 1701, the House of Commons sent up to the House of Peers the bill for the land-tax, to which they had coupled, or, as the phrase went, *tacked*, a clause for the sale of the forfeited estates in Ireland, to follow upon the resumption of the grants of the said estates, made by King William to the Countess of Orkney his mistress, and to several of his favourites. This being thought to encroach upon the privileges of the Peers, was the subject of warm discussion between the two Houses, and the bill was only passed by the special interference of the King, who dreaded the consequences of the dispute to which it gave rise.

† In the bill for resumption of the forfeited estates in Ireland, was a clause for erecting a judicature to decide the claims touching the said property. And, in other respects, the House acted as if the peculiar extent and importance of these forfeitures had given the national council a greater title to interfere in the management of them, than in the disposal of escheats of less importance.

count it mean, and below the dignity of a House, to quit a prosecution; to resolve upon a conclusion before it is possible to be apprised of the premises; to act thus, I say, is to affect not only absolute power, but infallibility too.* Yet such unaccountable proceedings as these have popular assemblies engaged in, for want of fixing the due limits of power and privilege.

Great changes may indeed be made in a government, yet the form continue, and the balance be held: but large intervals of time must pass between every such innovation, enough to melt down and make it of a piece with the constitution. Such, we are told, were the proceedings of Solon, when he modelled anew the Athenian commonwealth; and what convulsions in our own, as well as other states, have been bred by a neglect of this rule, is fresh and notorious enough: it is too soon in all conscience to repeat this error again.

Having shown, that there is a natural balance of power in all free states, and how it has been divided, sometimes by the people themselves, as in Rome; at others by the institutions of the legislators, as in the several states of Greece and Sicily; the next thing is, to examine what methods have been taken to break or overthrow this balance, which every one of the three parties has continually endeavoured, as opportunities have served; as might appear from the stories of most ages and countries: for, absolute power in a particular state, is of the same nature with universal monarchy in several states adjoining to each other. So endless and exorbitant

* Alluding to the commons declining to give up the impeachment of the four lords, although they experienced the difficulty of supporting it by specific articles of accusation.

are the desires of men, whether considered in their persons or their states, that they will grasp at all, and can form no scheme of perfect happiness with less. Even since men have been united into governments, the hopes and endeavours after universal monarchy have been bandied among them, from the reign of Ninus, to this of the most christian king; in which pursuits, commonwealths have had their share, as well as monarchs: so the Athenians, the Spartans, the Thebans, and the Achaians, did several times aim at the universal monarchy of Greece: so the commonwealths of Carthage and Rome affected the universal monarchy of the then known world. In like manner has absolute power been pursued by the several parties of each particular state; wherein single persons have met with most success, though the endeavours of the few and the many have been frequent enough: yet, being neither so uniform in their designs, nor so direct in their views, they neither could manage nor maintain the power they had got; but were ever deceived by the popularity and ambition of some single person. So that it will be always a wrong step in policy, for the nobles and commons to carry their endeavours after power so far, as to overthrow the balance: and it would be enough to damp their warmth in such pursuits, if they could once reflect, that in such a course they will be sure to run upon the very rock, that they meant to avoid; which, I suppose, they would have us think is the tyranny of a single person.

Many examples might be produced of the endeavours of each of these three rivals after absolute power; but I shall suit my discourse to the time I am writing in, and relate only such dissensions in Greece and Rome, between the nobles and com-

mons, with the consequences of them, wherein the latter were the aggressors.

I shall begin with Greece, where my observation shall be confined to Athens, though several instances might be brought from other states thereof.

CHAP. II.

OF THE DISSENSIONS IN ATHENS, BETWEEN THE FEW AND THE MANY.

THESEUS is the first, who is recorded, with any appearance of truth, to have brought the Grecians from a barbarous manner of life, among scattered villages, into cities; and to have established the popular state in Athens, assigning to himself the guardianship of the laws, and chief command in war. He was forced, after some time, to leave the Athenians to their own measures, upon account of their seditious temper, which ever continued with them, till the final dissolution of their government by the Romans. It seems, the country about Attica was the most barren of any in Greece; through which means it happened, that the natives were never expelled by the fury of invaders, (who thought it not worth a conquest) but continued always aborigines; and therefore retained, through all revolutions, a tincture of that turbulent spirit, wherewith their government began. This institution of Theseus appears to have been rather a sort of mixed monarchy, than a popular state; and, for aught we

know, might continue so during the series of kings, till the death of Codrus. From this last prince, Solon was said to be descended; who, finding the people engaged in two violent factions of the poor and the rich, and in great confusion thereupon, refusing the monarchy, which was offered him, chose rather to cast the government after another model, wherein he made provisions for settling the balance of power, choosing a senate of four hundred, and disposing the magistracies and offices according to men's estates; leaving to the multitude their votes in electing, and the power of judging certain processes by appeal. This council of four hundred was chosen, one hundred out of each tribe, and seems to have been a body representative of the people; though the people collective reserved a share of power to themselves. It is a point of history perplexed enough; but this much is certain, that the balance of power was provided for; else Pisistratus, called by authors the tyrant of Athens, could never have governed so peaceably as he did, without changing any of Solon's laws.* These several powers, together with that of the archon or chief magistrate, made up the form of government in Athens, at what time it began to appear upon the scene of action and story.

The first great man bred up under this institution, was Miltiades, who lived about ninety years after Solon, and is reckoned to have been the first great captain, not only of Athens, but of all Greece. From the time of Miltiades to that of Phocion, who is looked upon as the last famous general of Athens, are about 130 years: after which, they were subdued and insulted by Alexander's captains, and con-

* Herodot. lib. 1.

tinued under several revolutions a small truckling state, of no name or reputation, till they fell, with the rest of Greece, under the power of the Romans.

During this period from Miltiades to Phocion, I shall trace the conduct of the Athenians with relation to their dissensions between the people and some of their generals ; who, at that time, by their power and credit in the army, in a warlike commonwealth, and often supported by each other, were, with the magistrates and other civil officers, a sort of counterpoise to the power of the people ; who, since the death of Solon, had already made great encroachments. What these dissensions were, how founded, and what the consequences of them, I shall briefly and impartially relate.

I must here premise, that the nobles in Athens were not at this time a corporate assembly, that I can gather ; therefore the resentments of the commons were usually turned against particular persons, and by way of articles of impeachment. Whereas the commons in Rome, and some other states, as will appear in a proper place, though they followed this method upon occasion, yet generally pursued the enlargement of their power by more set quarrels of one entire assembly against another. However, the custom of particular impeachments being not limited to former ages, any more than that of general struggles and dissensions between fixed assemblies of nobles and commons, and the ruin of Greece having been owing to the former, as that of Rome was to the latter, I shall treat on both expressly ; that those states who are concerned in either (if at least there be any such now in the world) may, by observing the means and issues of former dissensions, learn whether the causes are alike in theirs ; and if they find them to be so, may

consider whether they ought not justly to apprehend the same effects.

To speak of every particular person impeached by the commons of Athens, within the compass designed, would introduce the history of almost every great man they had among them: I shall therefore take notice only of six, who, living in that period of time when Athens was at the height of its glory, as indeed it could not be otherwise while such hands were at the helm, though impeached for high crimes and misdemeanours, such as bribery, arbitrary proceedings, misapplying or embezzling public funds, ill conduct at sea, and the like, were honoured and lamented by their country, as the preservers of it, and have had the veneration of all ages since paid justly to their memories.

Miltiades* was one of the Athenian generals against the Persian power, and the famous victory at Marathon was chiefly owing to his valour and conduct. Being sent some time after to reduce the island of Paros, he mistook a great fire at a distance for the fleet; and being no ways a match for them, set sail for Athens; at his arrival he was impeached by the commons for treachery, though not able to appear by reason of his wounds, fined 30,000 crowns, and died in prison. Though the consequences of this proceeding upon the affairs of Athens, were no other than the untimely loss of so great and good a man, yet I could not forbear relating it.

Their next great man was Aristides. † Beside

* Lord Orford seems to be presented under the character of Miltiades, as well as under that of Themistocles; as the cases of Pericles and Alcibiades both apply to the character of Halifax.

† Lord Somers, against whom the commons had preferred an address, praying that he might be removed from the king's councils and presence.

the mighty service he had done his country in the wars, he was a person of the strictest justice, and best acquainted with the laws as well as forms of their government, so that he was in a manner chancellor of Athens. This man, upon a slight and false accusation of favouring arbitrary power, was banished by ostracism ; which, rendered into modern English, would signify, that they voted he should be removed from their presence and council for ever. But, however, they had the wit to recal him, and to that action owed the preservation of their state by his future services. For it must be still confessed in behalf of the Athenian people, that they never conceived themselves perfectly infallible, nor arrived to the heights of modern assemblies, to make obstinacy confirm what sudden heat and temerity began. They thought it not below the dignity of an assembly to endeavour at correcting an ill step ; at least to repent, though it often fell out too late.

Themistocles * was at first a commoner himself : it was he that raised the Athenians to their greatness at sea, which he thought to be the true and constant interest of that commonwealth ; and the famous naval victory over the Persians at Salamis was owing to his conduct. It seems the people observed somewhat of haughtiness in his temper and behaviour, and therefore banished him for five years ; but finding some slight matter of accusation against him, they sent to seize his person, and he hardly escaped to the Persian court ; from whence, if the love of his country had not surmounted its

* Admiral Russell, created Earl of Orford. The allusions to his defeating the French fleet at La Hogue, and to the natural haughtiness of his temper, are delicately touched.

base ingratitude to him, he had many invitations to return at the head of the Persian fleet, and take a terrible revenge : but he rather chose a voluntary death.

The people of Athens impeached Pericles * for misapplying the public revenues to his own private use. He had been a person of great deservings from the republic, was an admirable speaker, and very popular. His accounts were confused, and he could not then give them up ; therefore merely to divert that difficulty, and the consequences of it, he was forced to engage his country in the Peloponnesian war, the longest that ever was known in Greece, and which ended in the utter ruin of Athens.

The same people having resolved to subdue Sicily, sent a mighty fleet under the command of Nicias, Lamachus, and Alcibiades : the two former, persons of age and experience ; the last, a young man of noble birth, excellent education, and a plentiful fortune. A little before the fleet set sail, it seems one-night the stone-images of Mercury, placed in several parts of the city, were all pared in the face : this action the Athenians interpreted for a design of destroying the popular state ; and Alcibiades, having been formerly noted for the like frolics and excursions, was immediately accused of this. He, whether conscious of his innocence, or assured of the secrecy, offered to come to his

* Under the fate of Pericles, and again under that of Alcibiades, Swift points out circumstances parallel to the case of Halifax. He was impeached on account of alleged peculation in rendering account of the produce of the forfeited estates, and so far his situation resembled that of Pericles. But his personal character, as young, noble, and a pretender to wit and gallantry, was rather allied to that of Alcibiades.

trial before he went to his command; this the Athenians refused. But as soon as he was got to Sicily, they sent for him back; designing to take the advantage, and prosecute him in the absence of his friends, and of the army, where he was very powerful. It seems he understood the resentments of a popular assembly too well to trust them; and therefore, instead of returning, escaped to Sparta; where his desires of revenge prevailing over his love to his country, he became its greatest enemy. Meanwhile the Athenians before Sicily, by the death of one commander, and the superstition, weakness, and perfect ill conduct of the other, were utterly destroyed, the whole fleet taken, and a miserable slaughter made of the army, whereof hardly one ever returned. Some time after this, Alcibiades was recalled upon his own conditions by the necessities of the people, and made chief commander at sea and land; but his lieutenant engaging against his positive orders, and being beaten by Lysander, Alcibiades was again disgraced, and banished. However, the Athenians having lost all strength and heart since their misfortune at Sicily, and now deprived of the only person that was able to recover their losses, repent of their rashness, and endeavour in vain for his restoration; the Persian lieutenant, to whose protection he fled, making him a sacrifice to the resentments of Lysander the general of the Lacedemonians, who now reduces all the dominions of the Athenians, takes the city, razes their walls, ruins their works, and changes the form of their government; which though again restored for some time by Thrasybulus (as their walls were rebuilt by Conon) yet here we must date the fall of the Athenian greatness; the dominion and chief power in Greece from that period to the time of Alexander the Great, which was about fifty years, being divided be-

tween the Spartans and Thebans. Though Philip, Alexander's father (the most christian king of that age) had indeed some time before begun to break in upon the republic of Greece by conquest or bribery; particularly dealing large money among some popular orators, by which he brought many of them, as the term of art was then, to Philippize.

In the time of Alexander and his captains, the Athenians were offered an opportunity of recovering their liberty, and being restored to their former state; but the wise turn they thought to give the matter, was by an impeachment and sacrifice of the author to hinder the success. For after the destruction of Thebes by Alexander, this prince designing the conquest of Athens, was prevented by Phocion * the Athenian general, then ambassador from that state; who, by his great wisdom and skill at negociations, diverted Alexander from his design, and restored the Athenians to his favour. The very same success he had with Antipater after Alexander's death, at which time the government was new regulated by Solon's laws: But Polyperchon, in hatred to Phocion, having by order of the young king, whose governor he was, restored those whom Phocion had banished, the plot succeeded. Phocion was accused by popular orators, and put to death.

* William Bentinck, Earl of Portland. King William, whose ideas were altogether military, finding some difficulties arise in the course of the conferences concerning a peace, held at Ryswick in 1697, directed the Earl of Portland, one of his generals, to have an interview on the subject with Marshal Boufflers; and the result of the conference betwixt these martial plenipotentiaries was the removal of all obstacles to the treaty. Portland was ambassador at Paris in 1698, more to his own honour than the profit of Britain; and he was plenipotentiary for King William in the second partition treaty in 1700.

Thus was the most powerful commonwealth of all Greece, after great degeneracies from the institution of Solon, utterly destroyed by that rash, jealous, and inconstant humour of the people, which was never satisfied to see a general either victorious, or unfortunate : such ill judges, as well as rewarders, have popular assemblies been, of those who best deserved from them.

Now, the circumstance which makes these examples of more importance, is, that this very power of the people in Athens, claimed so confidently for an inherent right, and insisted on as the undoubted privilege of an Athenian born, was the rankest encroachment imaginable, and the grossest degeneracy from the form that Solon left them. In short, their government was grown into a *dominatio plebis*, or tyranny of the people, who by degrees had broke and overthrown the balance, which that legislator had very well fixed and provided for.— This appears not only from what has been already said of that lawgiver, but more manifestly from a passage in Diodorus ; * who tells us, that Antipater, one of Alexander's captains, abrogated the popular government in Athens, and restored the power of suffrages and magistracy to such only as were worth two thousand drachmas ; by which means, says he, that republic came to be again administered by the laws of Solon. By this quotation it is manifest that great author looked upon Solon's institution, and a popular government, to be two different things. And as for this restoration by Antipater, it had neither consequence nor continuance worth observing.

I might easily produce many more examples, but

* Lib. 18.

these are sufficient : and it may be worth the reader's time to reflect a little on the merits of the cause, as well as of the men, who had been thus dealt with by their country. I shall direct him no farther than by repeating, that Aristides * was the most renowned by the people themselves for his exact justice and knowledge in the law ; that Themistocles † was a most fortunate admiral, and had got a mighty victory over the great king of Persia's fleet ; that Pericles ‡ was an able minister of state, an excellent orator, and a man of letters ; and lastly, that Phocion, § beside the success of his arms, was also renowned for his negotiations abroad ; having in an embassy brought the greatest monarch of the world at that time to the terms of an honourable peace, by which his country was preserved.

I shall conclude my remarks upon Athens with the character given us of that people by Polybius. About this time, says he, the Athenians were governed by two men, quite sunk in their affairs ; had little or no commerce with the rest of Greece, and were become great reverencers of crowned heads.

For, from the time of Alexander's captains, till Greece was subdued by the Romans, to the latter part of which this description of Polybius falls in, Athens never produced one famous man either for counsels or arms, or hardly for learning. And indeed it was a dark insipid period through all Greece : for, except the Achaian league under Aratus and Philopœmen ; and the endeavours of Agis and Cleomenes to restore the state of Sparta, so frequently harassed by tyrannies occasioned by the popular practices of the ephori, there was very little worth recording. All which consequences may perhaps be justly imputed to this degeneracy of Athens.

* Somers.

† Orford.

‡ Halifax.

§ Portland.

CHAP. III.

OF THE DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE PATRICIANS
AND PLEBEIANS IN ROME, WITH THE CONSEQUENCES
THEY HAD UPON THAT STATE.

HAVING in the foregoing Chapter confined myself to the proceedings of the commons only, by the method of impeachments against particular persons, with the fatal effects they had upon the state of Athens; I shall now treat of the dissensions at Rome, between the people and the collective body of the patricians or nobles. It is a large subject, but I shall draw it into as narrow a compass as I can.

As Greece, from the most ancient accounts we have of it, was divided into several kingdoms, so was most part of Italy * into several petty commonwealths. And as those kings in Greece are said to have been deposed by their people upon the score of their arbitrary proceedings; so, on the contrary, the commonwealths of Italy were all swallowed up, and concluded in the tyranny of the Roman emperors. However, the differences between those Grecian monarchies, and Italian republics, were not very great: for, by the account Homer gives us of those Grecian princes who came to the siege of Troy, as well as by several passages in the Odyssey, it is manifest, that the power of these

* Dionys. Halicar.

princes in their several states was much of a size with that of the kings in Sparta, the archon at Athens, the suffetes at Carthage, and the consuls in Rome: so that a limited and divided power seems to have been the most ancient and inherent principle of both those people in matters of government. And such did that of Rome continue from the time of Romulus, though with some interruptions, to Julius Cæsar, when it ended in the tyranny of a single person. During which period (not many years longer than from the Norman conquest to our age) the commons were growing by degrees into power and property, gaining ground upon the patricians, as it were, inch by inch, till at last they quite overturned the balance, leaving all doors open to the practices of popular and ambitious men, who destroyed the wisest republic, and enslaved the noblest people that ever entered upon the stage of the world. By what steps and degrees this was brought to pass, shall be the subject of my present inquiry.

While Rome was governed by kings, the monarchy was altogether elective. Romulus himself, when he had built the city, was declared king by the universal consent of the people, and by augury, which was there understood for divine appointment. Among other divisions he made of the people, one was into patricians and plebeians: the former were like the Barons of England some time after the conquest; and the latter are also described to be almost exactly what our commons were then. For they were dependents upon the patricians, whom they chose for their patrons and protectors, to answer for their appearance, and defend them in any process: they also supplied their patrons with money in exchange for their protection.

This custom of patronage, it seems, was very ancient, and long practised among the Greeks.

Out of these patricians Romulus chose a hundred to be a senate, or grand council, for advice and assistance to him in the administration. The senate therefore originally consisted all of nobles, and were of themselves a standing council, the people being only convoked upon such occasions, as by this institution of Romulus fell into their cognizance: those were, to constitute magistrates, to give their votes for making laws, and to advise upon entering on a war. But the two former of these popular privileges were to be confirmed by authority of the senate; and the last was only permitted at the king's pleasure. This was the utmost extent of power pretended to by the commons in the time of Romulus; all the rest being divided between the king and the senate; the whole agreeing very nearly with the constitution of England for some centuries after the conquest.

After a year's interregnum from the death of Romulus, the senate of their own authority chose a successor, and a stranger, merely upon the fame of his virtue, without asking the consent of the commons; which custom they likewise observed in the two following kings. But in the election of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king, we first hear mentioned, that it was done *populi impetratâ veniâ*; which indeed was but very reasonable for a free people to expect; though I cannot remember, in my little reading, by what incidents they were brought to advance so great a step. However it were, this prince, in gratitude to the people, by whose consent he was chosen, elected a hundred senators out of the commons, whose number, with former additions, was now amounted to three hundred.

The people having once discovered their own strength, did soon take occasion to exert it, and that by very great degrees.* For at this king's death, who was murdered by the sons of a former, being at a loss for a successor, Servius Tullius, a stranger, and of mean extraction, was chosen protector of the kingdom by the people, without the consent of the senate; at which the nobles being displeased, he wholly applied himself to gratify the commons, and was by them declared and confirmed no longer protector, but king.

This prince first introduced the custom of giving freedom to servants, so as to become citizens of equal privileges with the rest, which very much contributed to increase the power of the people.

Thus in a very few years the commons proceeded so far, as to wrest even the power of choosing a king entirely out of the hands of the nobles; which was so great a leap, and caused such a convulsion and struggle in the state, that the constitution could not bear it; but civil dissensions arose, which immediately were followed by the tyranny of a single person, as this was by the utter subversion of the regal government, and by a settlement upon a new foundation. For the nobles, spited at this indignity done them by the commons, firmly united in a body, deposed this prince by plain force, and chose Tarquin the Proud;† who, running into all the forms and methods of tyranny, after a cruel reign, was expelled by a universal concurrence of nobles and people, whom the miseries of his reign had reconciled.

* Alluding to the great rebellion, and protectorship of Oliver Cromwell.

† James II.

When the consular government began, the balance of power between the nobles and plebeians was fixed anew : the two first consuls were nominated by the nobles, and confirmed by the commons ; and a law was enacted, That no person should bear any magistracy in Rome, *injussu populi*, that is, without consent of the commons

In such turbulent times as these, many of the poorer citizens had contracted numerous debts, either to the richer sort among themselves, or to senators and other nobles : and the case of debtors in Rome for the first four centuries,* was, after the set time for payment, that they had no choice but either to pay or be the creditor's slave. In this juncture, the commons leave the city in mutiny and discontent, and will not return but upon condition to be acquitted of all their debts ; and moreover, that certain magistrates be chosen yearly, whose business it shall be to defend the commons from injuries. These are called tribunes of the people, their persons are held sacred and inviolable, and the people bind themselves by oath never to abrogate the office. By these tribunes, in process of time, the people were grossly imposed on to serve the turns and occasions of revengeful or ambitious men, and to commit such exorbitances, as could not end but in the dissolution of the government.

These tribunes, a year or two after their institution, kindled great dissensions between the nobles and the commons on the account of Coriolanus ; a nobleman, whom the latter had impeached, and the consequences of whose impeachment (if I had not confined myself to Grecian examples for that part

* Ab urbe condita.

of my subject) had like to have been so fatal to their state. And from this time, the tribunes began a custom of accusing to the people whatever nobles they pleased, several of whom were banished or put to death in every age.

At this time the Romans were very much engaged in wars with their neighbouring states ; but upon the least intervals of peace, the quarrels between the nobles and the plebeians would revive ; and one of the most frequent subjects of their differences was the conquered lands, which the commons would fain have divided among the public ; but the senate could not be brought to give their consent.* For, several of the wisest among the nobles began to apprehend the growing power of the people ; and therefore knowing what an accession thereof would accrue to them by such an addition of property, used all means to prevent it : for this the Appian family was most noted, and thereupon most hated by the commons. One of them having made a speech against this division of lands, was impeached by the people of high treason, and a day appointed for his trial : but disdain- ing to make his defence, he chose rather the usual Roman remedy of killing himself : after whose death the commons prevailed, and the lands were divided among them.

This point was no sooner gained, but new dis- sessions began ; for the plebeians would fain have a law enacted to lay all men's rights and privileges upon the same level : and to enlarge the power or every magistrate within his own jurisdiction, as much as that of the consuls. The tribunes also obtained to have their numbers doubled, which

* Allusion to the forfeited lands in Ireland.

before was five: and the author tells us, that their insolence and power increased with their number, and the seditions were also doubled with it. *

By the beginning of the fourth century from the building of Rome, the tribunes proceeded so far in the name of the commons, as to accuse and fine the consuls themselves, who represented the kingly power. And the senate observing, how in all contentions they were forced to yield to the tribunes and people, thought it their wisest course to give way also to time; therefore a decree was made to send ambassadors to Athens, and to the other Grecian commonwealths planted in that part of Italy called Græcia Major, to make a collection of the best laws; out of which, and some of their own, a new complete body of law was formed, afterward known by the name of the laws of the twelve tables.

To digest these laws into order, ten men were chosen, and the administration of all affairs left in their hands; what use they made of it has been already shown. It was certainly a great revolution, produced entirely by the many unjust encroachments of the people; and might have wholly changed the fate of Rome, if the folly and vice of those, who were chiefly concerned, could have suffered it to take root.

A few years after, the commons made farther advances on the power of the nobles; demanding among the rest, that the consulship, which hitherto had only been disposed to the former, should now lie in common to the pretensions of any Roman whatsoever. This, though it failed at present, yet

* Dionys. Halicar.

afterward obtained, and was a mighty step to the ruin of the commonwealth.

What I have hitherto said of Rome, has been chiefly collected out of that exact and diligent writer Dionysius Halicarnasseus, whose history, through the injury of time, reaches no farther than to the beginning of the fourth century after the building of Rome. The rest I shall supply from other authors; though I do not think it necessary to deduce this matter any farther so very particularly as I have hitherto done.

To point at what time the balance of power was most equally held between the lords and commons in Rome, would perhaps admit a controversy. Polybius tells us,* that in the second Punic war the Carthaginians were declining, because the balance was got too much on the side of the people; whereas the Romans were in their greatest vigour by the power remaining in the senate: yet this was between two and three hundred years after the period Dionysius ends with; in which time the commons had made several farther acquisitions. This however must be granted, that (till about the middle of the fourth century) when the senate appeared resolute at any time upon exerting their authority, and adhered closely together, they did often carry their point. Besides, it is observed by the best authors,† that in all the quarrels and tumults at Rome, from the expulsion of the kings, though the people frequently proceeded to rude contumelious language, and sometimes so far as to pull and hale one another about the forum, yet no blood was ever drawn in any popular commotions, till the time of the Gracchi: however, I am of opinion,

* Fragm. lib. 6.

† Dionys. Hal. Plutarch, &c.

that the balance had begun many years before to lean to the popular side. But this default was corrected, partly by the principle just mentioned, of never drawing blood in a tumult; partly by the warlike genius of the people, which in those ages was almost perpetually employed: and partly by their great commanders, who, by the credit they had in their armies, fell into the scales as a farther counterpoise to the growing power of the people. Besides, Polybius, who lived in the time of Scipio Africanus the younger, had the same apprehensions of the continual encroachments made by the commons; and being a person of as great abilities, and as much sagacity, as any of his age, from observing the corruptions, which, he says, had already entered into the Roman constitution, did very nearly foretel what would be the issue of them. His words are very remarkable, and with little addition may be rendered to this purpose. * “That those abuses and corruptions, which in time destroy a government, are sown along with the very seeds of it, and both grow up together; and that as rust eats away iron, and worms devour wood, and both are a sort of plagues born and bred along with the substance they destroy; so with every form and scheme of government that man can invent, some vice or corruption creeps in with the very institution, which grows up along with, and at last destroys it.” The same author, † in another place, ventures so far as to guess at the particular fate which would attend the Roman government. He says, its ruin would arise from the popular tumults, which would introduce a *dominatio plebis*, or tyranny of the people; wherein it is certain he had reason, and therefore

* Lib. 5.

† Fragm. lib. 6.

might have adventured to pursue his conjectures, so far, as to the consequences of a popular tyranny, which, as perpetual experience teaches, never fails to be followed by the arbitrary government of a single person.

About the middle of the fourth century from the building of Rome, it was declared lawful for nobles and plebeians to intermarry; which custom, among many other states, has proved the most effectual means to ruin the former, and raise the latter.

And now the greatest employments in the state, were, one after another, by laws forcibly enacted by the commons, made free to the people; the consulship itself, the office of censor, that of the quæstors or commissioners of the treasury, the office of prætor or chief-justice, the priesthood, and even that of dictator: the senate, after long opposition, yielding, merely for present quiet, to the continual urging clamours of the commons, and of the tribunes their advocates. A law was likewise enacted, that the *plebiscita*, or a vote of the house of commons, should be of universal obligation; nay, in time the method of enacting laws was wholly inverted; for, whereas the senate used of old to confirm the *plebiscita*, the people did at last, as they pleased, confirm or disannul the *senatus consulta*.*

Appius Claudius brought in a custom of admitting to the senate the sons of freedmen, or of such who had once been slaves; by which, and succeeding alterations of the like nature, that great council degenerated into a most corrupt and factious body of men, divided against itself; and its authority became despised.

The century and half following, to the end of

* Dionys. lib. ii.

the third Punic war by the destruction of Carthage, was a very busy period at Rome; the intervals between every war being so short, that the tribunes and people had hardly leisure or breath to engage in domestic dissensions: however, the little time they could spare, was generally employed the same way. So, Terentius Leo, a tribune, is recorded to have basely prostituted the privileges of a Roman citizen, in perfect spite to the nobles. So, the great African Scipio and his brother, after all their mighty services, were impeached by an ungrateful commons.

However, the warlike genius of the people, and continual employment they had for it, served to divert this humour from running into a head, till the age of the Gracchi.

These persons, entering the scene in the time of a full peace, fell violently upon advancing the power of the people, by reducing into practice all those encroachments which they had been so many years gaining. There were at that time certain conquered lands to be divided, beside a great private estate left by a king; these, the tribunes, by procurement of the elder Gracchus, declared by their legislative authority, were not to be disposed of by the nobles, but by the commons only. The younger brother pursued the same design; and, besides, obtained a law, that all Italians should vote at elections, as well as the citizens of Rome: in short, the whole endeavours of them both perpetually turned upon retrenching the nobles' authority in all things, but especially in the matter of judicature. And though they both lost their lives in those pursuits, yet they traced out such ways, as were afterward followed by Marius, Sylla, Pompey and Cæsar, to the ruin of the Roman freedom and greatness.

For in the time of Marius, Saturninus, a tribune,

procured a law, that the senate should be bound by oath to agree to whatever the people would enact ; and Marius himself, while he was in that office of tribune, is recorded to have with great industry used all endeavours for depressing the nobles, and raising the people, particularly for cramping the former in their power of judicature, which was their most ancient inherent right.

Sylla, by the same measures, became absolute tyrant of Rome : he added three hundred commons to the senate, which perplexed the power of the whole order, and rendered it ineffectual ; then flinging off the mask, he abolished the office of tribune, as being only a scaffold to tyranny, whereof he had no farther use.

As to Pompey and Cæsar, Plutarch tells us, that their union for pulling down the nobles (by their credit with the people) was the cause of the civil war, which ended in the tyranny of the latter ; both of them in their consulships having used all endeavours and occasions for sinking the authority of the patricians, and giving way to all encroachments of the people, wherein they expected best to find their own account.

From this deduction of popular encroachments in Rome, the reader will easily judge, how much the balance was fallen upon that side. Indeed, by this time the very foundation was removed, and it was a moral impossibility that the republic could subsist any longer : for the commons having usurped the offices of state, and trampled on the senate, there was no government left but a *dominatio plebis*. Let us therefore examine how they proceeded in this conjuncture.

I think it is a universal truth, that the people are much more dexterous at pulling down and setting up, than at preserving what is fixed ; and they are

not fonder of seizing more than their own, than they are of delivering it up again to the worst bidder, with their own into the bargain. For, although in their corrupt notions of divine worship, they are apt to multiply their gods; yet their earthly devotion is seldom paid to above one idol at a time, of their own creation, whose oar they pull with less murmuring, and much more skill, than when they share the lading, or even hold the helm.

The several provinces of the Roman empire were now governed by the great men of their state; those upon the frontiers, with powerful armies, either for conquest or defence. These governors, upon any designs of revenge or ambition, were sure to meet with a divided power at home, and therefore bent all their thoughts and applications to close in with the people, who were now by many degrees the stronger party. Two of the greatest spirits that Rome ever produced, happened to live at the same time, and to be engaged in the same pursuit; and this at a conjuncture the most dangerous for such a contest; these were Pompey and Cæsar, two stars of such a magnitude, that their conjunction was as likely to be fatal, as their opposition.

The tribunes and people, having now subdued all competitors, began the last game of a prevalent populace, which is that of choosing themselves a master; while the nobles foresaw, and used all endeavours left them to prevent it. The people at first made Pompey their admiral, with full power over all the Mediterranean, soon after captain-general of all the Roman forces, and governor of Asia. Pompey, on the other side, restored the office of tribune, which Sylla had put down; and in his consulship procured a law for examining into the miscarriages of men in office or command for twenty

years past. Many other examples of Pompey's popularity are left us on record, who was a perfect favourite of the people, and designed to be more; but his pretensions grew stale for want of a timely opportunity of introducing them upon the stage. For Cæsar, with his legions in Gaul, was a perpetual check upon his designs; and in the arts of pleasing the people, did soon after get many lengths beyond him. For he tells us himself, that the senate, by a bold effort, having made some severe decrees against his proceedings, and against the tribunes, these all left the city, and went over to his party, and consequently along with them the affections and interests of the people; which is farther manifest from the accounts he gives us of the citizens in several towns mutinying against their commanders, and delivering both to his devotion. Besides, Cæsar's public and avowed pretensions for beginning the civil war, were, to restore the tribunes and the people, oppressed (as he pretended) by the nobles.

This forced Pompey, against his inclinations, upon the necessity of changing sides, for fear of being forsaken by both; and of closing in with the senate and chief magistrates, by whom he was chosen general against Cæsar.

Thus at length the senate (at least the primitive part of them, the nobles) under Pompey, and the commons under Cæsar, came to a final decision of the long quarrels between them. For, I think, the ambition of private men did by no means begin or occasion this war; though civil dissensions never fail of introducing and spiriting the ambition of private men: who thus become indeed the great instruments for deciding such quarrels, and at last are sure to seize on the prize. But no man, that sees a flock of vultures hovering over two armies

ready to engage, can justly charge the blood drawn in the battle to them, though the carcasses fall to their share. For, while the balance of power is equally held, the ambition of private men, whether orators or great commanders, gives neither danger nor fear, nor can possibly enslave their country; but that once broken, the divided parties are forced to unite each to its head, under whose conduct or fortune one side is at first victorious, and at last both are slaves. And to put it past dispute, that this entire subversion of the Roman liberty and constitution was altogether owing to those measures which had broke the balance between the patricians and plebeians, whereof the ambition of particular men was but an effect and consequence, we need only consider, that when the uncorrupted part of the senate had, by the death of Cæsar, made one great effort to restore the former state and liberty, the success did not answer their hopes; but that whole assembly was so sunk in its authority, that those patriots were forced to fly, and give way to the madness of the people, who by their own dispositions, stirred up with the harangues of their orators, were now wholly bent upon single and despotic slavery. Else, how could such a profligate as Antony, or a boy of eighteen, like Octavius, ever dare to dream of giving the law to such an empire and people? wherein the latter succeeded, and entailed the vilest tyranny, that Heaven in its anger ever inflicted on a corrupt and poisoned people. And this, with so little appearance at Cæsar's death, that when Cicero wrote to Brutus, how he had prevailed by his credit with Octavius to promise him (Brutus) pardon and security for his person, that great Roman received the notice with the utmost indignity, and returned Cicero an answer, yet upon

record, full of the highest resentment and contempt for such an offer, and from such a hand.

Here ended all show or shadow of liberty in Rome. Here was the repository of all the wise contentions and struggles for power between the nobles and commons, lapped up safely in the bosom of a Nero and a Caligula, a Tiberius and a Domitian.

Let us now see, from this deduction of particular impeachments and general dissensions in Greece and Rome, what conclusions may naturally be formed for instruction of any other state, that may haply upon many points labour under the like circumstances.

CHAP. IV.

UPON the subject of impeachments we may observe. that the custom of accusing the nobles to the people, either by themselves, or their orators, (now styled an impeachment in the name of the commons) has been very ancient both in Greece and Rome, as well as Carthage; and therefore may seem to be the inherent right of a free people, nay, perhaps it is really so: but then it is to be considered, first, that this custom was peculiar to republics, or such states where the administration lay principally in the hands of the commons, and ever ranged more or less, according to their encroachments upon absolute power; having been always looked upon by the wisest men and best authors of those times, as an effect of licentiousness, and not

of liberty ; a distinction, which no multitude, either represented or collective, has been at any time very nice in observing. However, perhaps this custom in a popular state of impeaching particular men, may seem to be nothing else, but the people's choosing upon occasion to exercise their own jurisdiction in person ; as if a king of England should sit as chief justice in his court of King's Bench ; which, they say, in former times he sometimes did. But in Sparta, which was called a kingly government, though the people were perfectly free, yet because the administration was in the two kings and the ephori, with the assistance of the senate, we read of no impeachments by the people ; nor was the process against great men, either upon account of ambition or ill conduct, though it reached sometimes to kings themselves, ever formed that way, as I can recollect, but only passed through those hands where the administration lay. So likewise, during the regal government in Rome, though it was instituted a mixed monarchy, and the people made great advances in power, yet I do not remember to have read of one impeachment from the commons against a patrician, until the consular state began, and the people had made great encroachments upon the administration.

Another thing to be considered is, that allowing this right of impeachment to be as inherent as they please, yet, if the commons have been perpetually mistaken in the merits of the causes and the persons, as well as in the consequences of such impeachments upon the peace of the state, we cannot conclude less, than that the commons in Greece and Rome (whatever they may be in other states) were by no means qualified, either as prosecutors or judges in such matters ; and therefore, that it would have been prudent, to have reserved these

privileges dormant, never to be produced but upon very great and urging occasions, where the state is in apparent danger, the universal body of the people in clamours against the administration, and no other remedy in view. But for a few popular orators or tribunes, upon the score of personal piques; or to employ the pride they conceive in seeing themselves at the head of a party; or as a method for advancement; or moved by certain powerful arguments that could make Demosthenes philippize: for such men, I say, when the state would of itself gladly be quiet, and has, besides, affairs of the last importance upon the anvil, to impeach Miltiades after a great naval victory, for not pursuing the Persian fleet; to impeach Aristides, the person most versed among them in the knowledge and practice of their laws, for a blind suspicion of his acting in an arbitrary way, that is, as they expound it, not in concert with the people; to impeach Pericles, after all his services, for a few inconsiderable accounts; or to impeach Phocion, who had been guilty of no other crime but negotiating a treaty for the peace and security of his country: what could the continuance of such proceedings end in, but the utter discouragement of all virtuous actions and persons, and consequently in the ruin of a state? therefore the historians of those ages seldom fail to set this matter in all its lights, leaving us in the highest and most honourable ideas of those persons who suffered by the persecution of the people, together with the fatal consequences they had, and how the persecutors seldom failed to repent, when it was too late.

These impeachments perpetually falling upon many of the best men both in Greece and Rome, are a cloud of witnesses, and examples enough to discourage men of virtue and abilities from enga-

ging in the service of the public; and help on the other side to introduce the ambitious, the covetous, the superficial, and the ill designing; who are as apt to be bold, and forward, and meddling, as the former are to be cautious, and modest, and reserved. This was so well known in Greece, that an eagerness after employments in the state, was looked upon by wise men, as the worst title a man could set up: and made Plato say, That if all men were as good as they ought to be, the quarrel in a commonwealth would be, not, as it is now, who should be ministers of state, but who should not be so. And Socrates is introduced by Xenophon * severely chiding a friend of his for not entering into the public service, when he was every way qualified for it: such a backwardness there was at that time among good men to engage with a usurping people, and a set of pragmatistical ambitious orators. And Diodorus tells us, † that when the petalism‡ was erected at Syracuse, in imitation of the ostracism at Athens, it was so notoriously levelled against all who had either birth or merit to recommend them, that whoever possessed either, withdrew for fear, and would have no concern in public affairs. So that the people themselves were forced to abrogate it, for fear of bringing all things into confusion.

There is one thing more to be observed, wherein all the popular impeachments in Greece and Rome seem to have agreed; and that was, a notion they had of being concerned in point of honour to condemn whatever person they impeached, however frivolous the articles were upon which they began,

* Lib. Memorab.

† Lib. 11.

‡ Popular votes of banishment by petalism were so called, because the voters inscribed the name of the accused person on a leaf, as in the ostracism it was marked on a shell.

or however weak the surmises whereon they were to proceed in their proofs. For, to conceive that the body of the people could be mistaken, was an indignity not to be imagined, till the consequences had convinced them, when it was past remedy. And I look upon this as a fate to which all popular accusations are subject; though I should think that the saying, *Vox populi vox Dei*, ought to be understood of the universal bent and current of a people, not of the bare majority of a few representatives, which is often procured by little arts, and great industry and application; wherein those, who engage in the pursuits of malice and revenge, are much more sedulous than such as would prevent them.

From what has been deduced of the dissensions in Rome between the two bodies of patricians and plebeians, several reflections may be made.

First, that when the balance of power is duly fixed in a state, nothing is more dangerous or unwise, than to give way to the first steps of popular encroachments, which is usually done either in hopes of procuring ease and quiet from some vexatious clamour, or else made merchandize, and merely bought and sold. This is breaking into a constitution to serve a present expedient, or supply a present exigency: the remedy of an empiric, to stifle the present pain, but with certain prospect of sudden and terrible returns. When a child grows easy and content by being humoured; and when a lover becomes satisfied by small compliances, without farther pursuits; then expect to find popular assemblies content with small concessions. If there could one single example be brought from the whole compass of history, of any one popular assembly, who, after beginning to contend for power, ever sat down quietly with a certain share; or if one instance could be produced of a popular as-

sembly that ever knew, or proposed, or declared what share of power was their due; then might there be some hopes that it were a matter to be adjusted by reasonings, by conferences, or debates: but since all that is manifestly otherwise, I see no other course to be taken in a settled state, than a steady constant resolution in those, to whom the rest of the balance is entrusted, never to give way so far to popular clamours, as to make the least breach in the constitution, through which a million of abuses and encroachments will certainly in time force their way.

Again, from this deduction it will not be difficult to gather and assign certain marks of popular encroachments; by observing which, those who hold the balance in a state may judge of the degrees, and, by early remedies and application, put a stop to the fatal consequences that would otherwise ensue. What those marks are, has been at large deduced, and need not be here repeated.

Another consequence is this, that (with all respect for popular assemblies be it spoken,) it is hard to recollect one folly, infirmity, or vice, to which a single man is subjected, and from which a body of commons, either collective or represented, can be wholly exempt. For, beside that they are composed of men with all their infirmities about them, they have also the ill fortune to be generally led and influenced by the very worst among themselves, I mean popular orators, tribunes, or, as they are now styled, great speakers, leading men, and the like. Whence it comes to pass, that in their results we have sometimes found the same spirit of cruelty and revenge, of malice and pride, the same blindness and obstinacy and unsteadiness, the same ungovernable rage and anger, the same injustice, sophistry, and fraud, that ever lodged in the breast of any individual.

Again, in all free states the evil to be avoided is tyranny, that is to say, the *summa imperii* or unlimited power solely in the hands of the one, the few, or the many. Now, we have shown, that although most revolutions of government in Greece and Rome began with the tyranny of the people, yet they generally concluded in that of a single person; so that a usurping populace is its own dupe; a mere underworker, and a purchaser in trust for some single tyrant, whose state and power they advance to their own ruin, with as blind an instinct as those worms that die with weaving magnificent habits for beings of a superior nature to their own.

CHAP. V.

SOME reflections upon the late public proceedings among us, and that variety of factions into which we are still so intricately engaged, gave occasion to this discourse. I am not conscious, that I have forced one example, or put it into any other light than it appeared to me long before I had thought of producing it.

I cannot conclude without adding some particular remarks upon the present posture of affairs and dispositions in this kingdom.

The fate of empire is grown a common-place: that all forms of government having been instituted by men, must be mortal like their authors, and have their periods of duration limited, as well as those of private persons. This is a truth of vulgar knowledge and observation: but there are few, who turn their thoughts to examine, how those

diseases in a state are bred, that hasten its end ; which would however be a very useful inquiry.— For, though we cannot prolong the period of a commonwealth beyond the decree of Heaven, or the date of its nature, any more than human life beyond the strength of the seminal virtue ; yet we may manage a sickly constitution, and preserve a strong one ; we may watch and prevent accidents ; we may turn off a great blow from without, and purge away an ill humour that is lurking within : and by these, and other such methods, render a state long-lived, though not immortal. Yet some physicians have thought, that if it were practicable to keep the several humours of the body in an exact equal balance of each with its opposite, it might be immortal, and so perhaps would a political body, if the balance of power could be always held exactly even. But, I doubt, this is as impossible in practice as the other.

It has an appearance of fatality, and that the period of a state approaches, when a concurrence of many circumstances, both within and without, unite toward its ruin ; while the whole body of the people are either stupidly negligent, or else giving in with all their might to those very practices, that are working their destruction. To see whole bodies of men breaking a constitution by the very same errors, that so many have been broke before ; to observe opposite parties, who can agree in nothing else, yet firmly united in such measures, as must certainly ruin their country ; in short, to be encompassed with the greatest dangers from without, to be torn by many virulent factions within ; then to be secure and senseless under all this, and to make it the very least of our concern ; these, and some others that might be named, appear to me to

be the most likely symptoms in a state of a sickness unto death.

*Quod procul a nobis flectat fortuna gubernans :
Et ratio potius, quam res persuadeat ipsa.*

LUCRET.

There are some conjunctures, wherein the death or dissolution of government is more lamentable in its consequences, than it would be in others.— And, I think, a state can never arrive to its period in a more deplorable crisis, than at a time when some prince in the neighbourhood, of vast power and ambition, lies hovering like a vulture to devour, or, at least, dismember its dying carcase ; by which means it becomes only a province or acquisition to some mighty monarchy, without hopes of a resurrection.

I know very well, there is a set of sanguine tempers, who deride and ridicule, in the number of fopperies, all such apprehensions as these. They have it ready in their mouths, that the people of England are of a genius and temper never to admit slavery among them ; and they are furnished with a great many common-places upon that subject. But it seems to me, that such discoursers do reason upon short views, and a very moderate compass of thought. For, I think it a great error to count upon the genius of a nation as a standing argument in all ages, since there is hardly a spot of ground in Europe, where the inhabitants have not frequently and entirely changed their temper and genius. Neither can I see any reason, why the genius of a nation should be more fixed in the point of government, than in their morals, their learning, their religion, their common humour and conversation, their diet and their complexion ; which do all notoriously vary almost in every age, and may

every one of them have great effects upon men's notions of government.

Since the Norman conquest, the balance of power in England has often varied, and sometimes been wholly overturned; the part which the commons had in it, (that most disputed point,) in its original progress and extent, was, by their own confessions, but a very inconsiderable share. Generally speaking, they have been gaining ever since, though with frequent interruptions and slow progress.—The abolishing of villanage, together with the custom introduced (or permitted) among the nobles, of selling their lands in the reign of Henry the Seventh, was a mighty addition to the power of the commons: yet I think a much greater happened in the time of his successor, at the dissolution of the abbeys; for this turned the clergy wholly out of the scale, who had so long filled it; and placed the commons in their stead: who in a few years became possessed of vast quantities of those and other lands, by grant or purchase. About the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign, I take the power between the nobles and the commons to have been in more equal balance, than it was ever before or since. But then, or soon after, arose a faction in England, which, under the name of Puritan, began to grow popular, by moulding up their new schemes of religion with republican principles in government; and gaining upon the prerogative as well as the nobles, under several denominations, for the space of about sixty years, did at last overthrow the constitution, and, according to the usual course of such revolutions, did introduce a tyranny, first of the people, and then of a single person.

In a short time after, the old government was revived. But the progress of affairs for almost

thirty years, under the reigns of two weak princes, * is a subject of a different nature : when the balance was in danger to be overturned by the hands that held it, which was at last very seasonably prevented by the late revolution. However, as it is the talent of human nature to run from one extreme to another, so in a very few years we have made mighty leaps from prerogative heights into the depth of popularity, and I doubt to the very last degree that our constitution will bear. It were to be wished, that the most august assembly of the commons would please to form a pandect of their own power and privileges, to be confirmed by the entire legislative authority, and that in as solemn a manner (if they please) as the *magna charta*. But to fix one foot of their compass wherever they think fit, and extend the other to such terrible lengths, without describing any circumference at all, is to leave us and themselves in a very uncertain state, and in a sort of rotation, that the author of the Oceana † never dreamed on. I believe the most hardy tribune will not venture to affirm at present, that any just fears of encroachment are given us from the regal power, or the few : and is it then impossible to err on the other side ? How far must we proceed, or where shall we stop ? The raging of the sea, and the madness of the people, are put together in holy writ ; and it is God alone who can

* Charles II. and James II.

† Mr James Harrington, who, in the time of the Commonwealth, published an Utopian scheme of government, entitled, The Commonwealth of Oceana. Several speculative persons, and among others Mr Henry Neville, embraced his visions as realities, and held a club called the Rota, in Palace Yard, Westminster, to consider of means to make his plan efficient. One article was, that a part of the senate should go out by rote, and become incapable of serving for a certain time.

say to either, Hitherto shalt thou pass, and no farther.

The balance of power in a limited state, is of such absolute necessity, that Cromwell himself, before he had perfectly confirmed his tyranny, having some occasions for the appearance of a parliament, was forced to create and erect an entire new House of Lords (such as it was) for a counterpoise to the commons. And indeed, considering the vileness of the clay, I have sometimes wondered, that no tribune of that age durst ever venture to ask the potter, What dost thou make ? * But it was then about the last act of a popular usurpation ; and fate, or Cromwell, had already prepared them for that of a single person.

I have been often amazed at the rude, passionate, and mistaken results, which have at certain times fallen from great assemblies, both ancient and modern, and of other countries as well as our own.— This gave me the opinion, I mentioned a while ago, that public conventions are liable to all the infirmities, follies, and vices of private men. To which, if there be any exception, it must be of such assemblies, who act by universal concert, upon public principles, and for public ends ; such as proceed upon debates without unbecoming warmths, or influence from particular leaders and inflamers ; such, whose members, instead of canvassing to procure majorities for their private opinions, are ready to comply with general sober results, though contrary to their own sentiments. Whatever assemblies act by these, and other methods of the like

* Pride the Brewer, Hewson the Cobler, and such other upstarts as the civil war had called into eminence, were summoned to this Upper House by writ.

nature, must be allowed to be exempt from several imperfections, to which particular men are subjected. But I think the source of most mistakes and miscarriages in matters debated by public assemblies, arises from the influence of private persons upon great numbers, styled in common phrase, leading men and parties. And therefore, when we sometimes meet a few words put together, which is called the vote or resolution of an assembly, and which we cannot possibly reconcile to prudence, or public good, it is most charitable to conjecture, that such a vote has been conceived, and born, and bred in a private brain; afterward raised and supported by an obsequious party; and then with usual methods confirmed by an artificial majority. For, let us suppose five hundred men, mixed in point of sense and honesty, as usually assemblies are; and let us suppose these men proposing, debating, resolving, voting, according to the mere natural motions of their own little or much reason and understanding; I do allow, that abundance of indigested and abortive, many pernicious and foolish overtures would arise, and float a few minutes; but then they would die and disappear. Because, this must be said in behalf of humankind, that common sense and plain reason, while men are disengaged from acquired opinions, will ever have some general influence upon their minds; whereas the species of folly and vice are infinite, and so different in every individual, that they could never procure a majority, if other corruptions did not enter to pervert men's understandings, and misguide their wills.

To describe how parties are bred in an assembly, would be a work too difficult at present, and perhaps not altogether safe. *Periculosa plenum opus aleæ*. Whether those, who are leaders, usually arrive at that station more by a sort of instinct or se-

eret composition of their nature, or influence of the stars, than by the possession of any great abilities, may be a point of much dispute; but when the leader is once fixed, there will never fail to be followers. And man is so apt to imitate, so much of the nature of sheep, (*imitatores, servum pecus,*) that whoever is so bold to give the first great leap over the heads of those about him, though he be the worst of the flock, shall be quickly followed by the rest. Besides, when parties are once formed, the stragglers look so ridiculous, and become so insignificant, that they have no other way, but to run into the herd, which at least will hide and protect them: and where to be much considered, requires only to be very violent.

But there is one circumstance with relation to parties, which I take to be, of all others, most pernicious in a state; and I would be glad any partizan would help me to a tolerable reason, that because Clodius and Curio happen to agree with me in a few singular notions, I must therefore blindly follow them in all: or, to state it at best, that because Bibulus the party-man is persuaded, that Clodius and Curio do really propose the good of their country as their chief end; therefore Bibulus shall be wholly guided and governed by them in the means and measures toward it. Is it enough for Bibulus, and the rest of the herd, to say, without farther examining, I am of the side with Clodius, or I vote with Curio? Are these proper methods to form and make up what they think fit to call the united wisdom of the nation? Is it not possible, that upon some occasion Clodius may be bold and insolent, borne away by his passion, malicious and revengeful? That Curio may be corrupt, and expose to sale his tongue or his pen? I conceive it far below the dignity both of human nature, and human

reason, to be engaged in any party, the most plausible soever, upon such servile conditions.

This influence of one upon many, which seems to be as great in a people represented, as it was of old in the commons collective, together with the consequences it has had upon the legislature, has given me frequent occasion to reflect upon what Diodorus tells us of one Charondas, a lawgiver to the Sybarites, an ancient people of Italy, who was so averse from all innovation, especially when it was to proceed from particular persons, (and I suppose, that he might put it out of the power of men fond of their own notions to disturb the constitution at their pleasures, by advancing private schemes) that he provided a statute, that whoever proposed any alteration to be made, should step out and do it with a rope about his neck: if the matter proposed were generally approved, then it should pass into a law; if it went into the negative, the proposer to be immediately hanged. Great ministers may talk of what projects they please; but I am deceived if a more effectual one could ever be found for taking off (as the present phrase is) those hot, unquiet spirits, who disturb assemblies, and obstruct public affairs, by gratifying their pride, their malice, their ambition, or their avarice.

Those who in a late reign began the distinction between the personal and politic capacity, seem to have had reason, if they judged of princes by themselves: for, I think, there is hardly to be found through all nature a greater difference between two things, than there is between a representing commoner in the function of his public calling, and the same person when he acts in the common offices of life. Here he allows himself to be upon a level with the rest of mortals; here he follows his own reason, and his own way; and rather affects a sin.

gularity in his actions and thoughts, than servilely to copy either from the wisest of his neighbours. In short, here his folly and his wisdom, his reason and his passions, are all of his own growth, not the echo or infusion of other men. But when he is got near the walls of his assembly, he assumes and affects an entire set of very different airs; he conceives himself a being of a superior nature to those without, and acting in a sphere where the vulgar methods for the conduct of human life can be of no use. He is listed in a party where he neither knows the temper, nor designs, nor perhaps the person of his leader; but whose opinions he follows and maintains with a zeal and faith as violent as a young scholar does those of a philosopher whose sect he is taught to profess. He has neither opinions, nor thoughts, nor actions, nor talk, that he can call his own, but all conveyed to him by his leader, as wind is through an organ. The nourishment he receives has been not only chewed, but digested, before it comes into his mouth. Thus instructed, he follows the party right or wrong through all his sentiments, and acquires a courage and stiffness of opinion not at all congenial with him.

This encourages me to hope, that during the present lucid interval, the members retired to their homes may suspend a while their acquired complexions, and, taught by the calmness of the scene and the season, reassume the native sedateness of their temper. If this should be so, it would be wise in them, as individual and private mortals, to look back a little upon the storms they have raised, as well as those they have escaped: to reflect, that they have been authors of a new and wonderful thing in England, which is, for a house of commons to lose the universal favour of the numbers they represent: to observe how those whom they thought

fit to persecute for righteousness sake, have been openly caressed by the people; and to remember how themselves sate in fear of their persons from popular rage. Now, if they would know the secret of all this unprecedented proceeding in their masters, they must not impute it to their freedom in debate, or declaring their opinions, but to that unparliamentary abuse of setting individuals upon their shoulders, who were hated by God and man. For it seems the mass of the people in such conjunctures as this, have opened their eyes, and will not endure to be governed by Clodius and Curio, at the head of their myrmidons, though these be ever so numerous, and composed of their own representatives.

This aversion of the people against the late proceedings of the commons, is an accident, that, if it last a while, might be improved to good uses for setting the balance of power a little more upon an equality than their late measures seem to promise or admit. This accident may be imputed to two causes: the first is a universal fear and apprehension of the greatness and power of France, whereof the people in general seem to be very much and justly possessed, and therefore cannot but resent to see it, in so critical a juncture, wholly laid aside by their ministers, the commons. The other cause is a great love and sense of gratitude in the people toward their present king, grounded upon a long opinion and experience of his merit, as well as concessions to all their reasonable desires; so that it is for some time they have begun to say, and to fetch instances where he has in many things been hardly used. How long these humours may last, (for passions are momentary, and especially those of a multitude,) or what consequences they may produce, a little time will discover. But whenever it comes

to pass that a popular assembly, free from such obstructions, and already possessed of more power than an equal balance will allow, shall continue to think they have not enough, but by cramping the hand that holds the balance, and by impeachments or dissensions with the nobles, endeavour still for more ; I cannot possibly see, in the common course of things. how the same causes can produce different effects and consequences among us, from what they did in Greece and Rome.

THE
EXAMINER.

THE EXAMINER.

WHEN the Tory party, under the auspices of Harley and St John, had succeeded in displacing the able and successful administration of Godolphin, their leaders were not ignorant, that in order to maintain the ascendance which they had gained, it was necessary at once to defend their own measures, and to arraign those of their predecessors, before the British public. With this view the EXAMINER was weekly published, in which St John himself, Atterbury, Prior, Dr Freind, and other wits of the party, exercised their powers of reasoning and of sarcasm. It became necessary, however, to devolve the task of regularly conducting the paper upon an individual author, and Swift was selected for that purpose. He was then just returned from Ireland, stung with resentment at the neglect he had experienced from Lord Wharton, and burning for revenge upon the whole Whig party. Upon the first proposal, he seems readily to have undertaken a task so congenial to his feelings ; and the following Examiners, from the 13th to the 45th Number inclusive, are evidence of the spirit with which he carried on the warfare. He also wrote the first part of Number 46. Upon the character and consequences of this political publication, we have already fully spoken in the Life of the Author.

THE
EXAMINER.

No. XIII.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1710.

— *longa est injuria, longæ
Ambages ; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.*

The tale is intricate, perplexed, and long ;
Hear then, in short, the story of her wrong.

IT is a practice I have generally followed, to converse in equal freedom with the deserving men of both parties ; and it was never without some contempt, that I have observed persons, wholly out of employment, affect to do otherwise. I doubted whether any man could owe so much to the side he was of, although he were retained by it ; but without some great point of interest, either in possession or prospect, I thought it was the mark of a low and narrow spirit.

It is hard, that for some weeks past, I have been forced, in my own defence, to follow a proceeding that I have so much condemned in others. But several of my acquaintance among the declining party, are grown so insufferably peevish and sullen, profess such violent apprehensions for the

public, and represent the state of things in such formidable ideas, that I find myself disposed to share in their afflictions; although I know them to be groundless and imaginary, or, which is worse, purely affected. To offer them comfort one by one, would be not only an endless, but a disobliging task. Some of them, I am convinced, would be less melancholy, if there were more occasion. I shall therefore, instead of hearkening to farther complaints, employ some part of this paper for the future, in letting such men see, that their natural or acquired fears are ill founded, and their artificial ones as ill intended; that all our present inconveniences are the consequence of the very counsels they so much admire, which would still have increased, if those had continued; and that neither our constitution in church or state could probably have been long preserved, without such methods as have been already taken.

The late revolutions at court have given room to some specious objections, which I have heard repeated by well-meaning men, just as they had taken them up on the credit of others, who have worse designs. They wonder the queen would choose to change her ministry at this juncture, and thereby give uneasiness to a general who hath been so long successful abroad, and might think himself injured, if the entire ministry were not of his own nomination; that there were few complaints of any consequence against the late men in power, and none at all in parliament, which, on the contrary, passed votes in favour of the chief minister; that if her majesty had a mind to introduce the other party, it would have been more seasonable after a peace, which now we have made desperate, by spurring the French, who rejoice in these changes, and by the fall of our credit, which unqualifies us for

carrying on the war; that the parliament, so untimely dissolved, had been diligent in their supplies, and dutiful in their behaviour; that one consequence of these changes appears already, in the fall of the stocks; that we may soon expect more and worse; and lastly, that all this naturally tends to break the settlement of the crown, and call over the Pretender.

These, and the like notions, are plentifully scattered abroad by the malice of a ruined party, to render the queen and her administration odious, and to inflame the nation. And these are what, upon occasion, I shall endeavour to overthrow, by discovering the falsehood and absurdity of them.

It is a great unhappiness when, in a government constituted like ours, it should be so brought about, that the continuance of a war must be for the interest of vast numbers, (civil as well as military,) who otherwise would have been as unknown as their original. I think our present condition of affairs is admirably described by two verses in Lucan :

*Hinc usura vorax, avidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum :*

which, without any great force upon the words, may be thus translated :

Hence are derived those exorbitant interests and annuities; hence those large discounts for advance and prompt payment; hence public credit is shaken; and hence great numbers find their profit in prolonging the war.

It is odd, that among a free trading people, as we call ourselves, there should so many be found to close in with those counsels, who have been ever averse from all overtures towards a peace: but yet there is no great mystery in the matter. Let any

man observe the equipages in this town, he shall find the greater number of those who make a figure, to be a species of men quite different from any that were ever known before the Revolution; consisting either of generals and colonels, or of those whose whole fortunes lie in funds and stocks; so that power, which according to the old maxim was used to follow land, is now gone over to money; and the country gentleman is in the condition of a young heir, out of whose estate a scrivener receives half the rents for interest, and has a mortgage on the whole; and is therefore always ready to feed his vices and extravagances, while there is any thing left. So that, if the war continue some years longer, a landed man will be little better than a farmer of a rack-rent to the army, and to the public funds.

It may perhaps be worth enquiring, from what beginnings, and by what steps, we have been brought into this desperate condition: and in search of this, we must run up as high as the Revolution.

Most of the nobility and gentry who invited over the Prince of Orange, or attended him in his expedition, were true lovers of their country, and its constitution in church and state; and were brought to yield to those breaches in the succession of the crown, out of a regard to the necessity of the kingdom, and the safety of the people, which did, and could only make them lawful; but without intention of drawing such a practice into precedent, or making it a standing measure by which to proceed in all times to come: and therefore we find their counsels ever tended to keep things, as much as possible, in the old course. But soon after, an under set of men, who had nothing to lose, and had neither borne the burden nor heat of the day, found means to whisper in the king's ear, that the principles of loyalty in the church of England were

wholly inconsistent with the Revolution. Hence began the early practice of caressing the dissenters, reviling the universities as maintainers of arbitrary power, and reproaching the clergy with the doctrines of divine right, passive obedience, and non-resistance. At the same time, in order to fasten wealthy people to the new government, they proposed those pernicious expedients of borrowing money by vast premiums, and at extortionate interest: a practice as old as Eumenes, one of Alexander's captains, who, setting up for himself after the death of his master, persuaded his principal officers to lend him great sums, after which they were forced to follow him for their own security.

This introduced a number of new dextrous men into business and credit. It was argued, that the war could not last above two or three campaigns; and that it was easier for the subjects to raise a fund for paying interest, than to tax them annually to the full expense of the war. Several persons, who had small or encumbered estates, sold them, and turned their money into those funds, to great advantage: merchants, as well as other monied men, finding trade was dangerous, pursued the same method. But the war continuing, and growing more expensive, taxes were increased, and funds multiplied every year, till they have arrived at the monstrous height we now behold them; and that, which was at first a corruption, is at last grown necessary, and what every good subject must now fall in with, although he may be allowed to wish it might soon have an end; because it is with a kingdom as with a private fortune, where every new incumbrance adds a double weight. By this means the wealth of a nation, that used to be reckoned by the value of land, is now computed by the rise and fall of stocks: and although the foundation of cre-

dit be still the same, and upon a bottom that can never be shaken, and although all interest be duly paid by the public, yet, through the contrivance and cunning of stock-jobbers, there has been brought in such a complication of knavery and cozenage, such a mystery of iniquity, and such an unintelligible jargon of terms to involve it in, as were never known in any other age or country in the world. I have heard it affirmed, by persons skilled in these calculations, that if the funds appropriated to the payment of interest and annuities were added to the yearly taxes, and the four-shilling aid strictly exacted in all counties of the kingdom, it would very near, if not fully, supply the occasions of the war, at least such a part as, in the opinion of very able persons, had been at that time prudent not to exceed. For I make it a question, whether any wise prince or state, in the continuance of a war, which was not purely defensive, or immediately at his own door, did ever propose that his expense should perpetually exceed what he was able to impose annually upon his subjects. Neither, if the war last many years longer, do I see how the next generation will be able to begin another; which, in the course of human affairs, and according to the various interests and ambition of princes, may be as necessary for them as it has been for us. And if our fathers had left us deeply involved, as we are likely to leave our children, I appeal to any man, what sort of figure we should have been able to make these twenty years past. Besides, neither our enemies nor allies are upon the same foot with us in this particular. France and Holland, our nearest neighbours, and the farthest engaged, will much sooner recover themselves after a war: the first, by the absolute power of the prince, who, being master of the lives and fortunes of his sub-

jects, will quickly find expedients to pay his debts ; and so will the other, by their prudent administration, the greatness of their trade, their wonderful parsimony, the willingness of their people to undergo all kind of taxes, and their justice in applying, as well as collecting them. But above all we are to consider, that France and Holland fight on the continent, either upon or near their own territories, and the greatest part of the money circulates among themselves ; whereas ours crosses the sea, either to Flanders, Spain, or Portugal ; and every penny of it, whether in species or returns, is so much lost to the nation for ever.

Upon these considerations alone, it was the most prudent course imaginable in the queen, to lay hold of the disposition of the people for changing the parliament and ministry at this juncture, and extricating herself as soon as possible out of the pupilage of those who found their accounts only in perpetuating the war. Neither have we the least reason to doubt but the ensuing parliament will assist her majesty with the utmost vigour, until her enemies again be brought to sue for peace, and again offer such terms as will make it both honourable and lasting ; only with this difference, that the ministry perhaps will not again refuse them. *

*Audiet pugnās, vitio parentum
Rara, Juventus.*

HOR. Book I. Ode 2.

* In 1709 a treaty for peace was carried on at Gertruydenberg, the Marquis de Tercy being plenipotentiary for France, the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Townsend for England. Preliminary articles were actually signed, but Louis XIV. declined to ratify them, objecting chiefly to that which not only excluded his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, from the Spanish monarchy, but stipulated that France should assist in compelling him to evacuate that kingdom. The Tories contended, that a clause so harsh and un-

No. XIV.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1710.

*E quibus hi vacuas implent sermonibus aures,
Hi narrata ferunt alio : mensuraque ficti
Crescit, et auditis aliquid novus adjicit auctor.
Illic Credulitas, illic temerarius Error,
Vanaque Lætitia est, consternatique Timores,
Seditioque recens, dubioque auctore Susurri.*

With idle tales this fills our empty ears ;
The next reports what from the first he hears ;
The rolling fictions grow in strength and size,
Each author adding to the former lies.
Here vain credulity, with new desires,
Leads us astray, and groundless joy inspires ;
The dubious whispers, tumults fresh design'd,
And chilling fears astound the anxious mind.

I AM prevailed on, through the importunity of friends, to interrupt the scheme I had begun in my last paper, by an Essay upon the Art of Political Lying. We are told the devil is the father of lies, and was a liar from the beginning ; so that, beyond contradiction, the invention is old : and, which is more, his first Essay of it was purely political, employed in undermining the authority of his

natural, was only inserted by the Duke of Marlborough, in order to break off the treaty, and secure himself in his power and emoluments as commander in chief. The Whigs, on the other hand, insisted, that nothing less could secure the independence of the Spanish crown, and the separation between its monarchy and that of France.

Swift afterwards wrote a light and lively pamphlet, upon a more general and less factious view of this copious theme than is taken in the Examiner.

prince, and seducing a third part of the subjects from their obedience: for which he was driven down from Heaven, where (as Milton expresses it) he had been viceroy of a great western province; * and forced to exercise his talent in inferior regions among other fallen spirits, poor or deluded men, whom he still daily tempts to his own sin, and will ever do so, till he be chained in the bottomless pit.

But although the devil be the father of lies, he seems, like other great inventors, to have lost much of his reputation, by the continual improvements that have been made upon him.

Who first reduced lying into an art, and adapted it to politics, is not so clear from history, although I have made some diligent inquiries. I shall therefore consider it only according to the modern system, as it has been cultivated these twenty years past in the southern part of our own island.

The poets tell us, that after the giants were overthrown by the gods, the earth in revenge produced her last offspring, which was Fame. And the fable is thus interpreted: that when tumults and seditions are quieted, rumours and false reports are plentifully spread through a nation. So that, by this account, lying is the last relief of a routed, earth-born, rebellious party in a state. But here the moderns have made great additions, applying this art to the gaining of power and preserving it, as well as revenging themselves after they have lost it; as the same instruments are made use of by animals to feed themselves when they are hungry, and to bite those that tread upon them.

* A proper parallel therefore for the Earl of Wharton, late lieutenant of Ireland, against whom this whole paper is directed.

But the same genealogy cannot always be admitted for political lying ; I shall therefore desire to refine upon it, by adding some circumstances of its birth and parents. A political lie is sometimes born out of a discarded statesman's head, and thence delivered to be nursed and dandled by the rabble. Sometimes it is produced a monster, and licked into shape : at other times it comes into the world completely formed, and is spoiled in the licking. It is often born an infant in the regular way, and requires time to mature it ; and often it sees the light in its full growth, but dwindles away by degrees. Sometimes it is of noble birth ; and sometimes the spawn of a stock-jobber. Here it screams aloud at the opening of the womb ; and there it is delivered with a whisper. I know a lie that now disturbs half the kingdom with its noise, which, although too proud and great at present to own its parents, I can remember its whisperhood. To conclude the nativity of this monster ; when it comes into the world without a sting, it is still-born ; and whenever it loses its sting, it dies.

No wonder if an infant so miraculous in its birth should be destined for great adventures ; and accordingly we see it has been the guardian spirit of a prevailing party for almost twenty years. It can conquer kingdoms without fighting, and sometimes with the loss of a battle. It gives and resumes employments ; can sink a mountain to a mole-hill, and raise a mole-hill to a mountain : has presided for many years at committees of elections ; can wash a blackmoor white ; make a saint of an atheist, and a patriot of a profligate ; can furnish foreign ministers with intelligence, and raise or let fall the credit of the nation. This goddess flies with a huge looking-glass in her hands, to dazzle the crowd, and make them see, according as she turns it, their ruin

in their interest, and their interest in their ruin. In this glass you will behold your best friends, clad in coats powdered with *fleurs de lis*, and triple crowns; their girdles hung round with chains, and beads, and wooden shoes;* and your worst enemies, adorned with the ensigns of liberty, property, indulgence, moderation, and a cornucopia in their hands.† Her large wings, like those of a flying-fish, are of no use but while they are moist; she therefore dips them in mud, and soaring aloft scatters it in the eyes of the multitude, flying with great swiftness; but at every turn is forced to stoop in dirty ways for new supplies.

I have been sometimes thinking, if a man had the art of the second sight for seeing lies, as they have in Scotland for seeing spirits, how admirably he might entertain himself in this town, by observing the different shapes, sizes, and colours of those swarms of lies which buzz about the heads of some people, like flies about a horse's ears in summer; or those legions hovering every afternoon in Exchange-alley, enough to darken the air; or over a club of discontented grandees, and thence sent down in cargoes to be scattered at elections.

There is one essential point wherein a political liar differs from others of the faculty; that he ought to have but a short memory, which is necessary, according to the various occasions he meets with every hour of differing from himself, and swearing to both sides of a contradiction, as he finds the persons disposed with whom he has to deal. In describing the virtues and vices of mankind, it is convenient,

* The Tories, accused of being in the interest of France.

† The Whigs, who assumed to themselves exclusively the merit of patriotism.

upon every article, to have some eminent person in our eye from whom we copy our description. I have strictly observed this rule; and my imagination this minute represents before me a certain great man * famous for this talent, to the constant practice of which he owes his twenty years reputation of the most skilful head in England, for the management of nice affairs. The superiority of his genius consists in nothing else but an inexhaustible fund of political lies, which he plentifully distributes every minute he speaks, and by an unparalleled generosity forgets, and consequently contradicts, the next half hour. He never yet considered whether any proposition were true or false, but whether it were convenient for the present minute or company to affirm or deny it; so that if you think fit to refine upon him, by interpreting every thing he says, as we do dreams, by the contrary, you are still to seek, and will find yourself equally deceived whether you believe or not: the only remedy is to suppose, that you have heard some inarticulate sounds, without any meaning at all; and besides, that will take off the horror you might be apt to conceive at the oaths, wherewith he perpetually tags both ends of every proposition; although, at the same time, I think he cannot with any justice be taxed with perjury, when he invokes God and Christ; because he has often fairly given public notice to the world, that he believes in neither.

* Thomas, Earl, and afterwards Marquis of Wharton. Swift owed him a grudge for neglecting him while lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and never fails on all occasions to pay it home.---See "A Short Character of the Earl of Wharton, &c." The peculiar bitterness of these assaults arose from the neglect with which Wharton, when lord-lieutenant of Ireland, treated Lord Somers' recommendation of Swift to his patronage.

Some people may think that such an accomplishment as this can be of no great use to the owner, or his party, after it has been often practised and is become notorious ; but they are widely mistaken. Few lies carry the inventor's mark, and the most prostitute enemy to truth may spread a thousand without being known for the author : besides, as the vilest writer has his readers, so the greatest liar has his believers : and it often happens, that if a lie be believed only for an hour, it has done its work, and there is no farther occasion for it. Falsehood flies, and truth comes limping after it ; so that when men come to be undeceived, it is too late ; the jest is over, and the tale has had its effect : like a man, who has thought of a good repartee, when the discourse is changed, or the company parted ; or like a physician, who has found out an infallible medicine, after the patient is dead.

Considering that natural disposition in many men to lie, and in multitudes to believe, I have been perplexed what to do with that maxim so frequent in every body's mouth ; that truth will at last prevail. Here has this island of ours, for the greatest part of twenty years, lain under the influence of such counsels and persons, whose principle and interest it was to corrupt our manners, blind our understanding, drain our wealth, and in time destroy our constitution both in church and state ; and we at last were brought to the very brink of ruin ; yet, by the means of perpetual misrepresentations, have never been able to distinguish between our enemies and friends. We have seen a great part of the nation's money got into the hands of those, who, by their birth, education, and merit, could pretend no higher than to wear our liveries ; while others, who, by their credit, quality, and fortune, were only able

to give reputation and success to the Revolution,* were not only laid aside as dangerous and useless, but loaden with the scandal of Jacobites, men of arbitrary principles, and pensioners to France; while truth, who is said to lie in a well, seemed now to be buried there under a heap of stones. But I remember it was a usual complaint among the Whigs, that the bulk of the landed men was not in their interests, which some of the wisest looked on as an ill omen; and we saw it was with the utmost difficulty that they could preserve a majority, while the court and ministry were on their side, till they had learned those admirable expedients for deciding elections, and influencing distant boroughs, by powerful motives from the city. But all this was mere force and constraint, however upheld by most dextrous artifice and management, until the people began to apprehend their properties, their religion, and the monarchy itself in danger; when we saw them greedily laying hold on the first occasion to interpose. But of this mighty change in the dispositions of the people, I shall discourse more at large in some following paper; wherein I shall endeavour to undeceive or discover those deluded or deluding persons, who hope or pretend it is only a short madness in the vulgar, from which they may soon recover; whereas, I believe, it will appear to be very different in its causes, its symptoms, and its consequences; and prove a great example to illustrate the maxim I lately mentioned; that truth (however sometimes late) will at last prevail.

* Alluding to the Tories in general, and perhaps in particular to Thomas Duke of Leeds, who assisted greatly in the Revolution, yet continued a steady Tory, and avowed at Sacheverel's trial, that, had he known the Prince of Orange designed to assume the crown, he never would have drawn a sword for him.

No. XV.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1710.

——— *medioque ut limite curras,
Icare, ait, monco : ne si demissior ibis,
Unda gravet pennas ; si celsior, ignis adurit.*

——— My boy, take care
To wing thy course along the middle air ;
If low, the surges wet thy flagging plumes ;
If high, the sun the melting wax consumes.

It must be avowed, that for some years past, there have been few things more wanted in England than such a paper as this ought to be : and such I will endeavour to make it as long as it shall be found of any use, without entering into the violences of either party. Considering the many grievous misrepresentations of persons and things, it is highly requisite at this juncture, that the people throughout the kingdom should, if possible, be set right in their opinions by some impartial hand ; which has never been yet attempted ; those, who have hitherto undertaken it, being, upon every account, the least qualified of all human kind for such work.

We live here under a limited monarchy, and under the doctrine and discipline of an excellent church. We are unhappily divided into two parties, both which pretend a mighty zeal for our religion and government, only they disagree about the means. The evils we must fence against are,

on one side, fanaticism and infidelity in religion, and anarchy, under the name of a commonwealth, in government; on the other side, popery, slavery, and the Pretender from France. Now, to inform and direct us in our sentiments upon these weighty points, here are, on one side, two stupid illiterate scribblers, both of them fanatics by profession, I mean the Review, * and Observer; † on the other side, we have an open Nonjuror, ‡ whose character and person, as well as learning and good sense, discovered upon other subjects, do indeed deserve re-

* The REVIEW was a paper published weekly by Daniel De Foe, who by no means deserved the harsh epithets here bestowed on him. He turned with the tide, and became temperately favourable to Harley's administration. About this time, however, he had written down his own reputation; his Review, as the author of the State of Wit assures us, having become altogether contemptible. "This fellow," adds the author of that piece, "who had excellent natural parts, but wanted a small foundation of learning, is a lively instance of those wits, who, as an ingenious author says, will endure but one skimming."

† The OBSERVER was published by John Tutchin, who had been a follower of Monmouth in his ill-fated invasion, and was sentenced by the brutal Jefferies to be flogged repeatedly, and through several towns in the west of England; a sentence so horrible, that he applied by petition to the king to have it changed to hanging. When James died in exile, Tutchin, whose personal sufferings had most naturally steeled him against compassionating the author of them, wrote a libel on his memory. This procured him a severe beating from some of the Jacobite party. Tutchin died in great poverty. Pope has classed him with De Foe in the celebrated couplet—

Farless on high stood unabashed De Foe,
And Tutchin flagrant from the scourge below.

When the Examiner opened its thunder against the Whigs, Tutchin's Observer began to shew, that there were better talents than those of the ostensible author engaged in defending their cause.

‡ The Reverend Charles Lesley, a Nonjuring clergyman, who openly wrote in favour of the Jacobite interest, in a periodical paper called the REHEARSAL.

spect and esteem ; but his Rehearsal, and the rest of his political papers, are yet more pernicious than those of the former two. If the generality of the people know not how to talk or think, until they have read their lesson in the papers of the week, what a misfortune is it that their duty should be conveyed to them through such vehicles as those ! For, let some gentlemen think what they please, I cannot but suspect that the two worthies I first mentioned, have, in a degree, done mischief among us ; the mock authoritative manner of the one, and the insipid mirth of the other, however insupportable to reasonable ears, being of a level with great numbers among the lowest part of mankind. Neither was the author of the Rehearsal, while he continued that paper, less infectious to many persons of better figure, who, perhaps, were as well qualified, and much less prejudiced, to judge for themselves.

It was this reason that moved me to take the matter out of those rough, as well as those dirty hands ; to let the remote and uninstructed part of the nation see, that they have been misled on both sides, by mad ridiculous extremes, at a wide distance on each side of the truth ; while the right path is so broad and plain as to be easily kept, if they were once put into it.

Farther : I had lately entered on a resolution to take little notice of other papers, unless it were such, where the malice and falsehood had so great a mixture of wit and spirit as would make them dangerous : which, in the present circle of scribblers, from twelve-pence to a halfpenny, I could easily foresee would not very frequently occur. But here again I am forced to dispense with my resolution, although it be only to tell my reader what measures I am likely to take on such occasions for

the future. I was told, that the paper called *The Observer*, was twice filled last week with remarks upon a late *Examiner*. These I read with the first opportunity, and, to speak in the news-writers phrase, they gave me occasion for many speculations. I observed, with singular pleasure, the nature of those things which the owners of them usually call answers, and with what dexterity this matchless author had fallen into the whole art and cant of them. To transcribe here and there three or four detached lines of least weight in a discourse, and by a foolish comment mistake every syllable of the meaning, is what I have known many, of a superior class to this formidable adversary, entitle an Answer.* This is what he has exactly done, in about thrice as many words as my whole discourse; which is so mighty an advantage over me, that I shall by no means engage in so unequal a combat; but, as far as I can judge of my own temper, entirely dismiss him for the future; heartily wishing he had a match exactly of his own size to meddle with, who should only have the odds of truth and honesty; which, as I take it, would be an effectual way to silence him for ever. Upon this occasion I cannot forbear a short story of a fanatic farmer, who lived in my neighbourhood, and was so great a disputant in religion, that the servants in all the families thereabouts reported how he had confuted the bishop and all his clergy. I had then a footman, who was fond of reading the Bible: and I borrowed a comment for him, which he studied so close, that in a month or two I thought him a match for the farmer. They disputed at several houses,

* Swift has given an humorous specimen of such an Answer in No. XXII. of the *Examiner*.

with a ring of servants and other people always about them; where Ned explained his texts so full and clear to the capacity of his audience, and shewed the insignificance of his adversary's cant to the meanest understanding, that he got the whole country on his side, and the farmer was cured of his itch of disputation for ever after.

The worst of it is, that this sort of outrageous party-writers I have spoken of above, are like a couple of makebates, who inflame small quarrels by a thousand stories, and by keeping friends at a distance, hinder them from coming to a good understanding; as they certainly would, if they were suffered to meet and debate between themselves: for let any one examine a reasonable honest man, of either side, upon those opinions in religion and government, which both parties daily buffet each other about, he shall hardly find one material point in difference between them. I would be glad to ask a question about two great men* of the late ministry, How they came to be Whigs? and by what figure of speech, half a dozen others, lately put into great employments, can be called Tories? I doubt, whoever would suit the definition to the persons, must make it directly contrary to what we understood it at the time of the Revolution.

In order to remove these misapprehensions among us, I believe it will be necessary, upon occasion, to detect the malice and falsehood of some popular maxims, which those idiots scatter from the press twice a-week, and draw a hundred absurd consequences from them.

* The Duke of Marlborough, and Lord Godolphin, who commenced their political career as Tories, and only became Whigs through the necessity of identifying their own principles with that of the party which supported their power.

For example ; I have heard it often objected, as a great piece of insolence in the clergy and others, to say or hint, that the church was in danger, when it was voted otherwise in parliament some years ago ; and the queen herself, in her last speech, did openly condemn all such insinuations. Notwithstanding which, I did then, and do still believe the church has, since that vote, been in very imminent danger ; and I think I might then have said so, without the least offence to her majesty, or either of the two Houses. The queen's words, as near as I can remember, mentioned the church being in danger from her administration ; and whoever says or thinks that, deserves, in my opinion, to be hanged for a traitor : but that the church and state may be both in danger, under the best princes that ever reigned, and without the least guilt of theirs, is such a truth, as a man must be a great stranger to history and common sense, to doubt. The wisest prince on earth may be forced, by the necessity of his affairs, and the present power of an unruly faction ; or deceived by the craft of ill-designing men. One or two ministers, most in his confidence, may at first have good intentions, but grow corrupted by time, by avarice, by love, by ambition, and have fairer terms offered them to gratify their passions or interests, from one set of men than another, until they are too far involved for a retreat ; and so be forced to take seven spirits more wicked than themselves. This is a very possible case ; and will not the last state of such men be worse than the first ? that is to say, will not the public, which was safe at first, grow in danger by such proceedings as these ? And shall a faithful subject, who foresees and trembles at the consequences, be called disaffected, because he delivers his opinion, although the prince declares, as he justly

may, that the danger is not owing to his administration? or shall the prince himself be blamed, when, in such a juncture, he puts his affairs into other hands, with the universal applause of his people? As to the vote against those who should affirm the church was in danger, I think it likewise referred to danger from, or under the queen's administration; for I neither have it by me, nor can suddenly have recourse to it; but, if it were otherwise, I know not how it can refer to any dangers but what were past, or at that time present; or how it could affect the future, unless the senators were all inspired, or at least that majority which voted it: neither do I see it is any crime, farther than ill manners, to differ in opinion from a majority of either, or both Houses; and that ill manners, I must confess, I have been often guilty of for some years past, although I hope I never shall again.

Another topic of great use to these weekly inflamers is, the young Pretender in France, to whom their whole party is in a high measure indebted for all their greatness; and whenever it lies in their power, they may perhaps return their acknowledgments, as, out of their zeal for frequent revolutions, they were ready to do to this supposed father; which is a piece of secret history, that I hope will one day see the light; and I am sure it shall, if ever I am master of it, without regarding whose ears may tingle. * But at present, the word *Pretender* is a

* The Duke of Marlborough was more than once suspected of being engaged in schemes for a counter-revolution. Sir John Dalrymple affirms, on the authority of Principal Gordon of the Scotch College, that the Earl of Oxford had obtained possession of a letter of the Duke of Marlborough, when Lord Churchill, addressed to James II., and giving him information of the projected attempt upon Brest in 1694; and that the Duke, perceiving

term of art in their profession. A secretary of state cannot desire leave to resign, but the Pretender is at bottom; the queen cannot dissolve a parliament, but it is a plot to dethrone herself and bring in the Pretender; half-a-score stock-jobbers are playing the knave in Exchange-alley, and there goes the Pretender with a sponge. One would be apt to think, they bawl out the Pretender so often, to take off the terror, or tell so many lies about him to slacken our caution, that when he is really coming, by their connivance, we may not believe them, as the boy served the shepherds about the coming of the wolf; or perhaps they scare us with the Pretender, because they think he may be like some diseases that come with a fright. Do they not believe that the queen's present ministry love her majesty at least as well as some loved the church? And why is it not as great a mark of disaffection now, to say the queen is in danger, as it was some months ago to affirm the same of the church? Suppose it be a false opinion, that the queen's right is hereditary and indefeasible; yet how is it possible that those who hold and believe such a doctrine, can be in the Pretender's interest? His title is weakened by every argument that strengthens hers: it is as plain as the words of an act of parliament can make it, that her present majesty is heir to the survivor of the late king and queen her sister: is not that an hereditary right? What need we explain it any farther? I have known an article of faith expound-

his life was in the hands of his enemy, consented to his voluntary exile to Brussels. He also relates, that the Duke had a private meeting with Lord Oxford at Thomas Harley's, to which he came by a back door, and that, in consequence of what then passed, he immediately left England. But this piece of private history rests upon slight and traditional foundation.

ed in much looser and more general terms, and that by an author, whose opinions are very much followed by a certain party. Suppose we go farther, and examine the word *indefeasible*, with which some writers of late have made themselves so merry; I confess it is hard to conceive how any law, which the supreme power makes, may not by the same power be repealed; so that I shall not determine, whether the queen's right be indefeasible or not. But this I will maintain, that whoever affirms it is so, is not guilty of a crime; for in that settlement of the crown after the Revolution, where her present majesty is named in remainder, there are (as near as I can remember) these remarkable words, "to which we bind ourselves and our posterity for ever." Lawyers may explain this, or call them words of form as they please; and reasoners may argue, that such an obligation is against the nature of government; but a plain reader, who takes the words in their natural meaning, may be excused in thinking a right so confirmed is indefeasible; and if there be an absurdity in such an opinion, he is not to answer for it.

P. S. When this paper was going to the press, the printer brought me two more Observators, wholly taken up in my Examiner upon lying, which I was at the pains to read; and they are just such an answer, as the two others I have mentioned. This is all I have to say on that matter.

sons allied by marriage to the general, * have lost their places. Whence came this wonderful sympathy between the civil and military powers? Will the troops in Flanders refuse to fight unless they can have their own lord-keeper, their own lord-president of the council, their own parliament? In a kingdom where the people are free, how came they to be so fond of having their counsels under the influence of their army, or those that lead it? who, in all well instituted states, had no commerce with the civil power, farther than to receive their orders, and obey them without reserve.

When a general is not so popular, either in his army or at home, as one might expect from a long course of success; it may perhaps be ascribed to his wisdom, or perhaps to his complexion. The possession of some one quality, or defect in some other, will extremely damp the people's favour, as well as the love of the soldiers. Besides, this is not an age to produce favourites of the people, while we live under a queen, who engrosses all our love and all our veneration; and where the only way, for a great general or minister, to acquire any degree of subordinate affection from the public, must be, by all marks of the most entire submission and respect, to her sacred person and commands; otherwise, no pretence of great services, either in the field or the cabinet, will be able to screen them from universal hatred. †

But the late ministry was closely joined to the general by friendship, interest, alliance, inclination,

* Sunderland and Godolphin.

† Swift, in the preceding Memoirs respecting the Change of Ministry, affirms, that the Duke of Marlborough lost the queen's favour by the arrogance with which he supported his wife's pretensions to be the queen's exclusive favourite.

and opinion ; which cannot be affirmed of the present : and the ingratitude of the nation lies in the people's joining, as one man, to wish that such a ministry should be changed. Is it not, at the same time, notorious to the whole kingdom, that nothing but a tender regard to the general was able to preserve that ministry so long, until neither God nor man could suffer their continuance? Yet, in the highest ferment of things, we heard few or no reflections upon this great commander ; but all seemed unanimous in wishing he might still be at the head of the confederate forces ; only at the same time, in case he were resolved to resign, they chose rather to turn their thoughts somewhere else, than throw up all in despair. And this I cannot but add, in defence of the people, with regard to the person we are speaking of, that in the high station he has been for many years past, his real defects (as nothing human is without them) have, in a detracting age, been very sparingly mentioned either in libels or conversation, and all successes very freely and universally applauded.

There is an active and a passive ingratitude : applying both to this occasion, we may say, the first is, when a prince or people returns good services with cruelty or ill usage ; the other is, when good services are not at all, or very meanly rewarded. We have already spoken of the former ; let us therefore in the second place examine how the services of our general have been rewarded ; and whether, upon that article, either prince or people have been guilty of ingratitude ?

Those are the most valuable rewards, which are given to us from the certain knowledge of the donor, that they fit our temper best : I shall therefore say nothing of the title of Duke, or the Garter, which the queen bestowed upon the general in the

beginning of her reign ; but I shall come to more substantial instances, and mention nothing which has not been given in the face of the world. The lands of Woodstock may, I believe, be reckoned worth 40,000*l.* ; on the building of Blenheim castle 200,000*l.* have been already expended, although it be not yet near finished ; the grant of 5000*l.* per annum on the post-office is richly worth 100,000*l.* ; his principality in Germany may be computed at 30,000*l.* ; pictures, jewels, and other gifts from foreign princes, 60,000*l.* ; the grant at the Pall-Mall, the rangership, &c. for want of more certain knowledge, may be called 10,000*l.* ; his own and his duchess's employments at five years value, reckoning only the known and avowed salaries, are very low rated at 100,000*l.* Here is a good deal above half a million of money ; and, I dare say, those who are loudest with the clamour of ingratitude, will readily own, that all this is but a trifle, in comparison of what is untold.

The reason of my stating this account, is only to convince the world, that we are not quite so ungrateful either as the Greeks or the Romans ; and in order to adjust the matter with all fairness, I shall confine myself to the latter, who were much more generous of the two. A victorious general of Rome, in the height of that empire, having entirely subdued his enemies, was rewarded with the larger triumph, and perhaps a statue in the Forum, a bull for a sacrifice, an embroidered garment to appear in, a crown of laurel, a monumental trophy with inscriptions ; sometimes five hundred or a thousand copper coins were struck on occasion of the victory, which, doing honour to the general, we will place to his account ; and lastly, sometimes, although not very frequently, a triumphal arch. These are all the rewards that I can call to mind, which a victo-

rious general received, after his return from the most glorious expedition; having conquered some great kingdom, brought the king himself, his family, and nobles, to adorn the triumph, in chains; and made the kingdom, either a Roman province, or, at best, a poor depending state, in humble alliance to that empire. Now, of all these rewards, I find but two which were of real profit to the general; the laurel crown, made and sent him at the charge of the public, and the embroidered garment; but I cannot find whether this last was paid for by the senate or the general: however, we will take the more favourable opinion; and in all the rest admit the whole expense, as if it were ready money in the general's pocket. Now, according to these computations on both sides, we will draw up two fair accounts; the one of Roman gratitude, and the other of British ingratitude, and set them together in balance.

A BILL OF ROMAN GRATITUDE.

Imprim.	£.	s.	d.
For frankincense, and earthen pots to burn it in - - - -	4	10	0
A bull for sacrifice - - - -	8	0	0
An embroidered garment - - - -	50	0	0
A crown of laurel - - - -	0	0	2
A statue - - - -	100	0	0
A trophy - - - -	80	0	0
A thousand copper medals, value half pence a-piece - - - -	2	1	8
A triumphal arch - - - -	500	0	0
A triumphal car, valued as a modern coach - - - -	100	0	0
Casual charges at the triumph - - - -	150	0	0
	<hr/> £. 994 11 10 <hr/>		

A BILL OF BRITISH INGRATITUDE.

Imprim.	
Woodstock - - - -	£. 40,000
Blenheim - - - -	- 200,000
Post-office grant - - - -	- 100,000
Mildenheim - - - -	- 30,000
Pictures, jewels, &c. - - - -	- 60,000
Pall Mall grant, &c. - - - -	- 10,000
Employments - - - -	- 100,000
	<hr/> £. 540,000 <hr/>

This is an account of the visible profits on both sides; and if the Roman general had any private perquisites, they may be easily discounted, and by more probable computations; and differ yet more upon the balance, if we consider that all the gold and silver for safeguards and contributions, also all valuable prizes taken in the war, were openly exposed in the triumph, and then lodged in the Capitol for the public service.*

So that, upon the whole, we are not yet quite so bad at worst, as the Romans were at best. And I doubt, those who raise the hideous cry of ingratitude, may be mightily mistaken in the consequence they propose from such complaints. I remember a saying of Seneca, *Multos ingratos invenimus, plures facimus*; we find many ungrateful persons in the world, but we make more, by setting too high a rate upon our pretensions, and undervaluing the

* The paper called the MEDLEY, No. 19, contrasted this account-current with the following statement of debit and credit between Marlborough and his country:—

<i>Debtor to Great Britain.</i>	<i>Creditor on the other side.</i>
By grants.	[Which part of the account our
Employments.	Examiner forgot.]
Pictures bought or given by foreigners.	By the battles of Schellenberg and Blenheim.
Jewels the same.	Forcing the French lines twice.
Mildenheim by the Emperor.	Ramilles, Oudenarde, Mons, &c.
	And by twenty-seven towns taken, which being reckoned at £.300,000 a town, (the price that Dunkirk was sold at before it was fortified) amounts in all, throwing in the battles and the fortifications,
Amounting in all to £. 540,000,	10 £. 8,100,000.
	Balance on the credit side, £. 7,560,000.

rewards we receive. When unreasonable bills are brought in, they ought to be taxed, or cut off in the middle. Where there have been long accounts between two persons, I have known one of them perpetually making large demands, and pressing for payment; who, when the accounts were cast up on both sides, was found to be debtor for some hundreds. I am thinking, if a proclamation were issued out for every man to send in his bill of merits, and the lowest price he set them at, what a pretty sum it would amount to, and how many such islands as this, must be sold to pay them. I form my judgment from the practice of those who sometimes happen to pay themselves, and, I dare affirm, would not be so unjust as to take a farthing more than they think is due to their deserts. I will instance only in one article: a lady of my acquaintance appropriated twenty-six pounds a-year out of her allowance, for certain uses, which her woman received, and was to pay to the lady, or her order, as it was called for. * But, after eight years, it ap-

* This alludes to an anecdote, which, as told by the Duchess of Marlborough herself, does her more discredit than she seems to be aware of. "These," she says, after a pretty handsome enumeration of royal favours, "were the only grants I ever had from the queen, except one, which occasioned the witty comparison that was made between me and the lady's-woman, who, out of her mistress's pin-money of 26*l.*, put twenty-two into her own pocket. The matter was this: At the queen's accession to the government, she used to lament to me, that, the crown being impoverished by former grants, she wanted the power her predecessors had enjoyed to reward faithful servants; and she desired me to take out of the privy purse 2000*l.* a-year, in order to purchase for my advantage. I made my grateful acknowledgments to her majesty, but at the same time said, that, as her majesty was so good to provide for my children, and as the offices I enjoyed by her favour brought me in more than I wanted, I could not think it reasonable to accept her offer, and I absolutely refused it. I

peared, upon the strictest calculation, that the woman had paid but four pounds a-year, and sunk two-and-twenty for her own pocket. It is but supposing, instead of twenty-six pounds, twenty-six thousand; and by that you may judge what the pretensions of modern merit are, where it happens to be its own paymaster.

constantly declined it till the time that, notwithstanding the uncommon regard I had shewn to her majesty's interest and honour, in the execution of my trusts, she was pleased to dismiss me from her service; then, indeed, it was thought I had no longer the same reason to be scrupulous on this head. By the advice of my friends, I sent the queen one of her own letters, in which she had pressed me to take the 2000l. a-year; and I wrote at the same time to ask her majesty, whether she would allow me to charge in the privy purse accounts, which I was to send her, that yearly sum from the time of the offer, amounting to 18,000l. Her majesty was pleased to answer, I might charge it. This, therefore, I did."—*Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough.*

It were to be wished that the Duchess had favoured us with a statement of the reasons which convinced her, that, having absolutely refused to receive this annuity as a gratuity from her sovereign while in favour, in consideration of 5000l. given in portion to each of her daughters, and the lucrative offices vested in her own person, she was nevertheless entitled to levy the same annuity, with all its arrears, by way of fine, when dismissed from the queen's service. As it is, we must be contented with the reason announced in a parallel case by Dr Ratchliffe, who, during a long attendance in the family of a particular friend, regularly refused the fee pressed upon him at each visit. At length, when the cure was performed, and the doctor about to give up attendance, the convalescent patient again proffered him a purse containing the fees for every day's visit. The doctor eyed it some time in silence, and at length extended his hand, exclaiming, "Singly I could have refused them for ever; but altogether, they are irresistible."

No. XVII.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1710.

Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis efficere potuisset; eas omnes sese, hoc uno præatore per triennium, pertulisse aiebant.

These things were the effect of his scandalous and unbounded luxury, his insatiable avarice, his contumelious insolence. These were the sufferings of that unhappy nation, for three years, under his oppressive government.

WHEN I first undertook this paper, I was resolved to concern myself only with things, and not with persons. Whether I have kept or broken this resolution, I cannot recollect; and I will not be at the pains to examine, but leave the matter to those little antagonists who may want a topic for criticism. Thus much I have discovered, that it is in writing as in building; where, after all our schemes and calculations, we are mightily deceived in our accounts, and often forced to make use of any materials we can find, that the work may be kept a going. Besides, to speak my opinion, the things I have occasion to mention are so closely linked to persons, that nothing but time (the father of oblivion) can separate them. Let me put a parallel case: suppose I should complain, that last week my coach was within an inch of overturning in a smooth even way, and drawn by very gentle horses; to be sure, all my friends would immediately lay the

fault upon John, * because they knew he then presided in my coach-box. Again, suppose I should discover some uneasiness to find myself, I knew not how, over head and ears in debt, although I were sure my tenants paid their rents very well, and that I never spent half my income; they would certainly advise me to turn off Mr Oldfox, † my receiver, and take another. If, as a justice of peace, I should tell a friend, that my warrants and mittimus were never drawn up as I would have them; that I had the misfortune to send an honest man to gaol, and dismiss a knave; he would bid me no longer trust Charles and Harry, ‡ my two clerks, whom he knew to be ignorant, wilful, assuming, and ill-inclined fellows. If I should add, that my tenants made me very uneasy with their squabbles and broils among themselves, he would counsel me to cashier Will. Bigamy, || the seneschal of my manor. And lastly, if my neighbour and I happened to have a misunderstanding about the delivery of a message,

* John Duke of Marlborough.

† Lord Godolphin, lord-treasurer.

‡ Earl of Sunderland, and Henry Boyle, Esq. secretaries of state.

|| In the youth of William Earl Cowper, (lord high chancellor under Godolphin's administration,) he is said to have contracted an informal marriage with Mrs Elizabeth Culling, of Hertingfordbury Park, by whom he had a son and daughter. The former died soon after he came of age, and the latter sold Hertingfordbury Park to Judge Cowper, who conveyed it to the chancellor; so it is now a seat of the family. Notwithstanding Swift's malicious insinuation, Cowper's connection with this lady was not such as to prevent him marrying, *first*. Judith, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Booth of London; and after her death, Mary, daughter of John Clavering of Chopwell, in the bishopric of Durham. See his life in the *Biographia Britannica*, edit. 1789, and COLLINS'S *Peerage*.

what could I do less than strip and discard the blundering or malicious rascal who carried it? *

It is the same thing in the conduct of public affairs, where they have been managed with rashness or wilfulness, corruption, ignorance, or injustice. Barely to relate the facts, at least while they are fresh in memory, will as much reflect upon the persons concerned, as if we had told their names at length.

I have therefore since thought of another expedient, frequently practised with great safety and success by satirical writers; which is, that of looking into history for some character bearing a resemblance to the person we would describe; and, with the absolute power of altering, adding, or suppressing what circumstances we please, I conceive we must have very bad luck, or very little skill, to fail. However, some days ago in a coffee-house, looking into one of the politic weekly papers, I found the writer had fallen into this scheme; and I happened to light on that part where he was describing a person, who, from small beginnings, grew (as I remember) to be constable of France, and had a very haughty imperious wife. † I took the author as a friend to our faction; for so, with great propriety of speech, they call the queen and

* Horatio Walpole, secretary to the English Embassy at the treaty of Gertruydenberg. Swift, in the *Conduct of the Allies*, accuses him of misleading the nation, by falsely stating, that the French had willingly acceded to the preliminary articles, and would even have made farther concessions, when he must have known the contrary.

† In the *MEDLEY*, No. 6. and No. 7, is an account of the rise and fall of the Marquis D'Ancre, and his wife Galigai, so told as to shadow forth Harley and Mrs Masham, Queen Anne's minister and favourite. Swift insinuates, with justice, that the character of Galigai would better have suited the Duchess of Marlborough.

ministry, almost the whole clergy, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom ; and I said to a gentleman near me, that although I knew well enough what persons the author meant, yet there were several particulars in the husband's character, which I could not reconcile ; for that of the lady, it was just and adequate enough. But it seems I mistook the whole matter, and applied all I had read to a couple of persons, who were not at that time in the writer's thoughts.

Now, to avoid such a misfortune as this, I have been for some time consulting Livy and Tacitus, to find out a character of a princeps senatus, a prætor urbanus, a quæstor ærarius, a Cæsari ab epistolis, and a proconsul : but among the worst of them, I cannot discover one from whom to draw a parallel without doing injury to a Roman memory : so that I am compelled to have recourse to Tully. But this author relating facts only as an orator, I thought it would be best to observe his method, and make an extract from six harangues of his against Verres, only still preserving the form of an oration. I remember a younger brother of mine, who deceased about two months ago, presented the world with a speech of Alcibiades against an Athenian brewer.* Now I am told for certain, that in

* While the Westminster election was contested by General Stanhope, and Mr Cross, a brewer, Addison, in the third number of the Whig Examiner, introduced a pretended extract from a Greek manuscript, containing the oration of Alcibiades against Taureas, an Athenian brewer, supposed to have disputed with him for a certain prize to be conferred by the voice of the people. The speech has much Addisonian humour, and a happy mimicry of the ancient style of declamation. " But, O ye men of Athens, what has this man done to deserve your voices? You say he is honest ; I believe it, and therefore he shall brew for me. You say he is assiduous in his calling ; and is he not grown rich

those days there was no ale in Athens ; therefore that speech, or at least a great part of it, must needs be spurious. The difference between my brother and me is this ; he makes Alcibiades say a great deal more than he really did. and I make Cicero say a great deal less. This Verres had been the Roman governor of Sicily for three years ; and, on his return from his government, the Sicilians entreated Cicero to impeach him in the senate ; which he accordingly did in several orations, whence I have faithfully translated and abstracted that which follows :

“ MY LORDS,

“ A pernicious opinion has for some time prevailed, not only at Rome, but among our neighbouring nations, that a man who has money enough, although he be ever so guilty, cannot be condemned in this place. But however industriously this opinion be spread to cast an odium on the senate,

by it ? Let him have your custom, but not your votes. You are now to cast your eyes upon those who can detect the artifices of the common enemy ; that can disappoint your secret foes in council, and your open enemies in the field. Let it not avail my competitor, that he has been tapping his liquors while I have been spilling my blood ; that he has been gathering hops for you, while I have been reaping laurels. Have I not borne the dust and heat of the day, while he has been sweating at his furnace ? Behold these scars ; behold this wound which still bleeds in your service. What can Taureas shew you of this nature ? What are his marks of honour ? Has he any other wound about him except the accidental scaldings of his wort, or bruises from the tub or barrel ? Let it not, O Athenians, let it not be said, that your generals have conquered themselves into your displeasure, and lost your favour by gaining your victories.” This short specimen will enable the reader to compare the light and comic style of Addison’s parody, with the fierce, stern, and vindictive tone of Swift’s philippic against the Earl of Wharton, under the name of *Verres*.

we have brought before your lordships Caius Verres, a person, for his life and actions, already condemned by all men. But, as he hopes and gives out, by the influence of his wealth, to be here absolved, in condemning this man, you have an opportunity of belying that general scandal, of redeeming the credit lost by former judgments, and recovering the love of the Roman people, as well as of our neighbours. I have brought here a man before you, my lords, who is a robber of the public treasure, an overturner of law and justice, and the disgrace, as well as destruction of the Sicilian province; of whom, if you shall determine with equity and due severity, your authority will remain entire, and upon such an establishment as it ought to be: but if his great riches will be able to force their way through that religious reverence and truth, which become so awful an assembly, I shall however obtain thus much, that the defect will be laid where it ought; and that it shall not be objected that the criminal was not produced, or that there wanted an orator to accuse him. This man, my lords, has publicly said, that those ought to be afraid of accusations, who have only robbed enough for their own support and maintenance; but that he has plundered sufficient to bribe numbers; and that nothing is so high or so holy, which money cannot corrupt. Take that support from him, and he can have no other left: for what eloquence will be able to defend a man, whose life has been tainted with so many scandalous vices, and who has been so long condemned by the universal opinion of the world? To pass over the foul stains and ignominy of his youth, his corrupt management in all employments he has borne, his treachery and irreligion, his injustice and oppression: he has left of late such monuments of his villainies in Sicily,

made such havoc and confusion there, during his government, that the province cannot by any means be restored to its former state, and hardly recover itself at all, under many years, and by a long succession of good governors. While this man governed in that island, the Sicilians had neither the benefit of our laws, nor their own, nor even of common right. In Sicily, no man now possesses more than what the governor's lust and avarice have overlooked, or what he was forced to neglect, out of mere weariness and satiety of oppression. Every thing, where he presided, was determined by his arbitrary will; and the best subjects he treated as enemies. To recount his abominable debaucheries, would offend any modest ear, since so many could not preserve their daughters and wives from his lust. I believe there is no man, who ever heard his name, that cannot relate his enormities. We bring before you in judgment, my lords, a public robber, an adulterer, a DEFILER OF ALTARS,* an enemy of religion, and of all that is sacred. In Sicily he sold all employments of judicature, magistracy, and trust, places in the council, and the priesthood itself, to the highest bidder; and has plundered that island of forty millions of sesterces. And here I cannot but observe to your lordships, in what manner Verres passed the day; the morning was spent in taking bribes and selling employments; the rest of it in drunkenness and lust. His discourse at table was scandalously unbecoming the dignity of his station; noise, brutality, and obscenity. One particular I cannot omit; that in the high character of governor of Sicily, upon a solemn day, a day

* See No. XXII. for a story of Lord Wharton's having been guilty of polluting a church.

set apart for public prayer for the safety of the commonwealth, he stole at evening in a chair to a married woman of infamous character, * against all decency and prudence, as well as against all laws both human and divine. Didst thou think, O Verres ! the government of Sicily was given thee with so large a commission, only, by the power of that, to break all the bars of law, modesty, and duty ; to suppose all men's fortunes thine, and leave no house free from thy rapine and lust ?" &c.

This extract, to deal ingeniously, has cost me more pains than I think it is worth ; having only served to convince me, that modern corruptions are not to be paralleled by ancient examples, without having recourse to poetry or fable. For instance, I never read in story of a law enacted to take away the force of all laws whatsoever ; by which a man may safely commit upon the last of June, what he would infallibly be hanged for, if he committed it on the first of July ; by which the greatest criminals may escape, provided they continue long enough in power to antedate their crimes, and by stifling them a while can deceive the legislature into an amnesty, of which the enactors do not at that time foresee the consequence. † A cautious merchant will be apt to suspect, when he finds a man who has the repute of a cunning dealer, and with whom he has old accounts, urging for a general release. When I reflect on this proceeding, I

* Probably a Mrs Coningsby, mentioned in the short character of the Earl of Wharton.

† Swift seems to foresee what actually took place. For in 1713, there was an attempt to fix a misdemeanour on the Earl of Wharton, as having taken a bribe of 1000*l.* from one Hutchinson, for procuring him the office of register of seizures in the customs. But he was found sheltered by the act of indemnity.

am not surprised that those who contrived a parliamentary sponge for their crimes, are now afraid of a new revolution sponge for their money : and if it were possible to contrive a sponge that could only affect those who had need of the other, perhaps it would not be ill employed.

No. XVIII.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1710.

*Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas ; tot bella per orbem ;
Tam multæ scelerum facies —*

Where sacred order, fraud and force confound ;
Where impious wars and tumults rage around.

I AM often violently tempted to let the world freely know who the author of this paper is ; to tell them my name and titles at length ; which would prevent abundance of inconsistent criticisms I daily hear upon it. Those who are enemies to the notions and opinions I would advance, are sometimes apt to quarrel with the Examiner, as defective in point of wit, and sometimes of truth. At other times, they are so generous and candid to allow, it is written by a club, and that very great hands have fingers in it. As for those who only appear its adversaries in print, they give me but very little pain. The paper I hold lies at my mercy, and I can govern it as I please ; therefore, when I begin to find the wit too bright, the learning too

deep, and the satire too keen for me to deal with, (a very frequent case, no doubt, where a man is constantly attacked by such shrewd adversaries,) I peaceably fold it up, or fling it aside, and read no more. It would be happy for me to have the same power over people's tongues, and not be forced to hear my own work railed and commended fifty times a-day; affecting all the while a countenance wholly unconcerned, and joining, out of policy or good manners, with the judgment of both parties: this, I confess, is too great a hardship for so bashful and unexperienced a writer.

But, alas, I lie under another discouragement of much more weight. I was very unfortunate in the choice of my party, when I set up to be a writer. Where is the merit, or what opportunity to discover our wit, our courage, or our learning, in drawing our pens for the defence of a cause which the queen and both Houses of Parliament, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom, have so unanimously embraced? I am cruelly afraid we politic authors must begin to lessen our expenses, and lie for the future at the mercy of our printers. All hopes are now gone of writing ourselves into places or pensions. A certain starveling author, who worked under the late administration, told me, with a heavy heart, about a month ago, that he, and some others of his brethren, had secretly offered their service, dog-cheap, to the present ministry, but were all refused; and are now maintained by contribution, like Jacobites or fanatics. I have been of late employed, out of perfect commiseration, in doing them good offices: for, whereas some were of opinion, that these hungry zealots should not be suffered any longer, in their malapert way, to snarl at the present course of public proceedings; and whereas others proposed, that they should be limited to a

certain number, and permitted to write for their masters, in the same manner as counsel are assigned for other criminals, that is, to say all they can in defence of their client, but not reflect upon the court; I humbly gave my advice, that they should be suffered to write on, as they used to do; which I did purely out of regard to their persons; for I hoped it would keep them out of harm's way, and prevent them from falling into evil courses; which, though of little consequence to the public, would certainly be fatal to themselves. If I have room at the bottom of this paper, I will transcribe a petition to the present ministry, sent me by one of these authors, in behalf of himself and fourscore others of his brethren.

For my own part, notwithstanding the little encouragement to be hoped for at this time from the men in power, I shall continue my paper, till either the world or myself grow weary of it: the latter is easily determined; and for the former, I shall not leave it to the partiality of either party, but to the infallible judgment of my printer. One principal end I designed by it, was to undeceive those well-meaning people, who have been drawn unawares into a wrong sense of things, either by the common prejudices of education and company, the great personal qualities of some party leaders, or the foul misrepresentations that were constantly made of all who durst differ from them in the smallest article. I have known such men struck with the thoughts of some late changes, which, as they pretend to think, were made without any reason visible to the world. In answer to this, it is not sufficient to allege, what nobody doubts, that a good and wise prince may be allowed to change his ministers, without giving a reason to his subjects; because it is probable, that he will not make such a

change, without very important reasons; and a good subject ought to suppose, that in such a case there are such reasons, although he be not apprised of them; otherwise he must inwardly tax his prince of capriciousness, inconstancy, or ill-design. Such reasons indeed may not be obvious to persons prejudiced, or at a great distance, or short thinkers; and therefore, if there be no secrets of state, nor any ill consequences to be apprehended from their publication, it is no uncommendable work in any private hand, to lay them open for the satisfaction of all men. And if what I have already said, or shall hereafter say, of this kind, be thought to reflect upon persons, although none have been named, I know not how it can possibly be avoided. The queen in her speech, mentions with great concern, that "the navy and other offices are burdened with heavy debts; and desires that the like may be prevented for the time to come." And if it be now possible to prevent the continuance of an evil that has been so long growing upon us, and is arrived to such a height, surely those corruptions and mismanagements must have been great which first introduced them, before our taxes were eaten up by annuities.

If I were able to rip up, and discover in all their colours, only about eight or nine thousand of the most scandalous abuses that have been committed in all parts of public management, for twenty years past, by a certain set of men and their instruments, I should reckon it some service to my country and posterity. But, to say the truth, I should be glad the authors' names were conveyed to future times, along with their actions. For although the present age may understand well enough the little hints we give, the parallels we draw, and the characters we describe, yet all this will be lost to the next. How-

ever, if these papers, reduced into a more durable form, should happen to live till our grand-children be men, I hope they may have curiosity enough to consult annals, and compare dates, in order to find out what names were then intrusted with the conduct of affairs, in the consequences whereof themselves will so deeply share ; like a heavy debt in a private family, which often lies an incumbrance upon an estate for three generations.

But, leaving the care of informing posterity to better pens, I shall, with due regard to truth, discretion, and the safety of my person from the men of the new-fangled moderation, continue to take all proper opportunities of letting the misled part of the people see how grossly they have been abused, and in what particulars. I shall also endeavour to convince them, that the present course we are in is the most probable means, with the blessing of God, to extricate ourselves out of all our difficulties.

Among those who are pleased to write or talk against this paper, I have observed a strange manner of reasoning, which I should be glad to hear them explain themselves upon. They make no ceremony of exclaiming, upon all occasions, against a change of ministry, in so critical and dangerous a conjuncture. What shall we, who heartily approve and join in those proceedings, say in defence of them ? We own the juncture of affairs to be as they describe : we are pushed for an answer ; and are forced at last freely to confess, that the corruptions and abuses in every branch of the administration, were so numerous and intolerable, that all things must have ended in ruin, without some speedy reformation. This I have already asserted in a former paper ; and the replies I have read or heard, have been in plain terms to affirm the direct con-

trary; and not only to defend and celebrate the late persons and proceedings, but to threaten me with law and vengeance, for casting reflections on so many great and honourable men, whose birth, virtue, and abilities, whose morals and religion, whose love of their country, and its constitution in church and state, were so universally allowed; and all this set off with odious comparisons, reflecting on the present choice: is not this, in plain and direct terms, to tell all the world, that the queen has, in a most dangerous crisis, turned out a whole set of the best ministers that ever served a prince, without any manner of reason but her royal pleasure, and brought in others, of a character directly contrary? And how so vile an opinion as this can consist with the least pretence to loyalty or good manners, let the world determine.

I confess myself so little a refiner in politics, as not to be able to discover what other motive, beside obedience to the queen, a sense of public danger, and a true love of their country, joined with invincible courage, could spirit up those great men, who have now, under her majesty's authority, undertaken the direction of affairs. What can they expect, but the utmost efforts of malice, from a set of enraged domestic adversaries, perpetually watching over their conduct, crossing all their designs, and using every art to foment divisions among them, in order to join with the weakest, upon any rupture? The difficulties they must encounter are nine times more and greater than ever; and the prospects of the interest, after the reapings and gleanings of so many years, nine times less. Every misfortune at home or abroad, although the necessary consequence of former counsels, will be imputed to them; and all the good success given to the merit of former schemes. A sharper has held your

cards all the evening, played booty, and lost your money; and when things are almost desperate, you employ an honest gentleman to retrieve your losses.

I would ask, whether the queen's speech does not contain her intentions, in every particular, relating to the public, that a good subject, a Briton, and a Protestant, can possibly have at heart? "To carry on the war in all its parts, particularly in Spain, * with the utmost vigour, in order to procure a safe and honourable peace for us and our allies; to find some ways of paying the debts of the navy; to support and encourage the church of England; to preserve the British constitution according to the union; to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences; and to employ none but such as are for the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover." It is known enough, that speeches on these occasions are ever digested by the advice of those who are in the chief confidence; and consequently, that these are the sentiments of her majesty's ministers, as well as her own; and we see the two Houses have unanimously agreed with her in every article. When the least counterpases † are made to any of these resolutions, it will then be time enough for our malecontents to bawl out Popery, persecution, arbitrary power, and the Pretender. In the mean while, it is a little hard to think, that this island can hold but six men, of honesty and ability enough to serve their prince and country: or that our safety should depend upon their credit, any more than it would upon the breath

* It was a general complaint, that the war in Spain had been neglected, in order to supply that army which was more immediately under the management of Marlborough.

† *i. e.* Counterpoises.

in their nostrils. Why should not a revolution in the ministry be sometimes necessary, as well as a revolution in the crown? It is to be presumed, the former is at least as lawful in itself, and perhaps the experiment not quite so dangerous. The revolution of the sun about the earth, was formerly thought a necessary expedient to solve appearances, although it left many difficulties unanswered; until philosophers contrived a better, which is that of the earth's revolution about the sun. This is found, upon experience, to save much time and labour, to correct many irregular motions, and is better suited to the respect due from a planet to a fixed star.

NO. XIX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1710.

*Sunt quibus in satira videar nimis acer, et ultra
Legem tendere opus: sine nervis altera quicquid
Composui pars esse putat—*

There are to whom too poignant I appear,
Beyond the laws of satire too severe.
My lines are weak, unsinewed, others say,
A man may spin a thousand such a-day.

WHEN the printer came last week for his copy, he brought along with him a bundle of those papers, which, in the phrase of Whig coffee-houses, have swung off the Examiner; most of which I had never seen or heard of before. I remember

some time ago, in one of the Tatlers, to have read a letter, wherein several reasons are assigned for the present corruption and degeneracy of our taste; but I think the writer has omitted the principal one, which I take to be the prejudice of parties. Neither can I excuse either side of this infirmity: I have heard the arrantest drivellers *pro* and *con*, commended for their shrewdness, even by men of tolerable judgment; and the best performances exploded as nonsense and stupidity. This indeed may partly be imputed to policy and prudence; but it is chiefly owing to that blindness, which prejudice and passion cast over the understanding: I mention this, because I think it properly within my province in quality of Examiner. And having granted more than is usual for an enemy to do, I must now take leave to say, that so weak a cause, and so ruined a faction, were never provided with pens more resembling their condition, or less suited to their occasions.

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,
Tempus eget*——

This is the more to be wondered at, when we consider, they have the full liberty of the press; that they have no other way left to recover themselves; and that they want not men of excellent parts to set their arguments in the best light they will bear. Now, if two men would argue on both sides with fairness, good sense, and good manners, it would be no ill entertainment to the town, and perhaps be the most effectual means to reconcile us. But I am apt to think, that men of great genius are hardly brought to prostitute their pens in a very odious cause; which, besides, is more properly undertaken by noise and impudence, by gross railing

and scurrility, by calumny and lying, and by little trifling cavils and carpings in the wrong place, which those whiffers use for arguments and answers.

I was well enough pleased with the story of one of these answerers, who, in a paper last week, found many faults with a late calculation of mine. Being, it seems, more deeply learned than his fellows, he was resolved to begin his answer with a Latin verse, as well as other folks. His business was to look out for something against the Examiner, that would pretend to tax accounts; and, turning over Virgil, he had the luck to find these words,

—*fugiant examina taxos* :

So down they went, and out they would have come, if one of his unlucky prompters had not hindered it.*

I here declare, once for all, that if these people

* This answerer may have been honest Daniel De Foe; at least it is certain he was very impatient under the charge of want of literature. "I know another," says he, pointing obviously at Swift, "that is an orator in the Latin, a walking index of books, has all the libraries in Europe in his head, from the Vatican at Rome to the learned collection of Dr Salmen at Fleet-ditch; but, at the same time, he is a cynic in behaviour, a fury in temper, unpolite in conversation, abusive and scurrilous in language, and ungovernable in passion. Is this to be learned? Then may I be still *illiterate*. I have been in my time pretty well master of five languages, and have not lost them yet, though I write no bill over my door, or set *Latin quotations* in the front of my Review. But, to my irreparable loss, I was bred but by halves; for my father, forgetting Juno's royal academy, left the language of Billingsgate quite out of my education: hence I am perfectly *illiterate* in the polite style of the street, and am not fit to converse with the porters and carmen of quality, who grace their diction with the beauties of calling names, and curse their neighbour with a *bonne grace*."—*Review of the State of the British Nation*, No. 114.

will not be quiet, I shall take the bread out of their mouths, and answer the Examiner myself; which I protest I have never yet done, although I have been often charged with it; neither have those answers been written or published with my privity, as malicious people are pleased to give out; nor do I believe the common Whiggish report, that the authors are hired by the ministry, to give my paper a value.

But the friends of this paper have given me more uneasiness with their impatience, than its enemies by their answers. I heard myself censured last week, by some of the former, for promising to discover the corruptions of the late administration, but never performing any thing. The latter, on the other side, are thundering out their anathemas against me, for discovering so many. I am at a loss how to decide between these contraries, and shall therefore proceed after my own way, as I have hitherto done; my design being of more importance than that of writing only to gratify the spleen of one side, or provoke that of the other, although it may occasionally have both effects.

I shall therefore go on to relate some facts, that, in my humble opinion, were no hindrance to the change of the ministry.

The first I shall mention, was that of introducing certain new phrases into the court style, which had been very seldom, or never, made use of in former times. They usually ran in the following terms: "Madam, I cannot serve you while such a one is in employment. I desire, humbly, to resign my commission, if Mr —— continues secretary of state. I cannot answer that the city will lend money, unless my l—d —— be president of the council. I must beg leave to surrender, except —— has the staff. I must not accept the seals, unless ——

comes into the other office." * This has been the language of late years from subjects to their prince. Thus they stood upon terms, and must have their conditions to ruin the nation. Nay, this dutiful manner of capitulating had spread so far, that every understrapper began at length to perk up and assume ; he expected a regiment ; or his son must be a major ; or his brother a collector ; else he threatened to vote according to his conscience.

Another of their glorious attempts was, the clause intended in the bill for the encouragement of learning, by taking off the obligation upon fellows of colleges, in both universities, to enter upon holy orders : the design of which, as I have heard the undertakers often confess, was to remove the care of educating youths out of the hands of the clergy, who are apt to infuse into their pupils too great a regard for the church and the monarchy. But there was a farther secret in this clause, which may best be discovered by the first projectors, or at least the garblers of it ; and these are known to be Collins and Tindall, in conjunction with a most pious lawyer, their disciple.

What shall we say to their prodigious skill in arithmetic, discovered so constantly in their decision of elections ; where they were able to make out by the rule of false, that three were more than three-and-twenty, and fifteen than fifty ? Nay, it was a maxim, which I never heard any of them dispute, that in determining elections they were not

* The dismissal of Harley from the post of secretary, in 1707-8, was wrested from the queen greatly contrary to her wishes, by Marlborough and Godolphin, who threatened to retire, unless their demand was complied with. And the same threat was used with the same success, to prevent the queen from bestowing a regiment on Hill, the brother of her favourite, Mrs Masham.

to consider, where the right lay, but which of the candidates was likelier to be true to the cause. This they used to illustrate by a very apt and decent similitude, of gaming with a sharper;—if you cannot cheat as well as he, you are certainly undone.

Another cast of their politics was, that of endeavouring to impeach an innocent lady, * for no reason imaginable, but her faithful and diligent service to the queen, and the favour her majesty bore to her upon that account, when others had acted contrary in so shameful a manner. What else was the crime? Had she treated her royal mistress with insolence or neglect? Had she enriched herself by a long practice of bribery, and obtained exorbitant grants? Had she engrossed her majesty's favours, without admitting any access but through her means? Had she heaped employments upon herself, her family, and dependants? Had she an imperious haughty behaviour? Or, after all, was it a perfect blunder, and mistake of one person for another? † I have heard of a man, who lay all night on a rough pavement, and in the morning, wondering what it could possibly be that made him rest so ill, happening to see a feather under him, imputed the uneasiness of his lodging to that. I remember likewise the story of a giant in Rabelais, who used to feed upon wind-mills; but was unfortunately choked with a small lump of fresh butter, before a warm oven.

And here I cannot but observe, how very refined some people are in their generosity and gratitude.

* Mrs, afterwards Lady Masham.

† The Examiner alludes to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, who, during her long reign, was far from bearing her faculties meekly.

There is a certain great person, * (I shall not say of what sex,) who for many years past was the constant mark and butt, against which our present malecontents used to discharge their resentment; upon whom they bestowed all the terms of scurrility, that malice, envy, and indignation, could invent; whom they publicly accused of every vice that can possess a human heart; pride, covetousness, ingratitude, oppression, treachery, dissimulation, violence, and fury, all in the highest extremes: but of late they have changed their language on a sudden; that person is now the most faithful and just that ever served a prince; that person, originally differing from them in principles as far as east from west, but united in practice, and falling together, they are now reconciled, and find twenty resemblances between each other, which they could never discover before. *Tanti est, ut placeam tibi perire!*

But to return: How could it be longer suffered in a free nation, that all avenues to preferment should be shut up, except a very few; when one or two stood constant sentry, who docked all favours they handed down, or spread a huge invisible net between the prince and subject, through which nothing of value could pass? And here I cannot but admire at one consequence from this management, which is of an extraordinary nature. Generally speaking, princes, who have ill ministers, are apt to suffer in their reputation, as well as in the love of the people; but it was not so with the

* The Earl of Nottingham, who became a convert to opposition, probably because he did not find himself distinguished in the new administration, as his zeal for high-church principles had, in his opinion, merited.

queen. When the sun is overcast by those clouds he exhales from the earth, we still acknowledge his light and influence, and at last find he can dispel, and drive them down to the horizon. The wisest prince, by the necessity of affairs, the misrepresentations of designing men, or the innocent mistakes even of a good predecessor, may find himself encompassed by a crew of courtiers, whom time, opportunity, and success, have miserably corrupted; and if he can save himself and his people from ruin, under the worst administration, what may not his subjects hope for, when, with their universal applause, he changes hands, and makes use of the best?

Another great objection with me against the late party, was the cruel tyranny they put upon conscience, by a barbarous inquisition, refusing to admit the least toleration or indulgence. They imposed a hundred tests; but could never be prevailed on to dispense with, or take off the smallest, or even to admit of occasional conformity; but went on daily (as their apostle Tindal expresses it) narrowing their terms of communion, pronouncing nine parts in ten of the kingdom heretics, and shutting them out of the pale of their church. These very men, who talk so much of a comprehension in religion among us, how came they to allow so little of it in politics, which is their sole religion? You shall hear them pretending to bewail the animosities kept up between the church of England and dissenters, where the differences in opinion are so few and inconsiderable; yet, these very sons of moderation were pleased to excommunicate every man, who disagreed with them in the smallest article of their political creed, or, who refused to receive any new article, how difficult soever to digest, which the

leaders imposed at pleasure to serve their own interest.

I will quit this subject for the present, when I have told one story: "There was a great king in Scythia, whose dominions were bounded on the north by the poor mountainous territories of a petty lord, who paid homage, as the king's vassal. The Scythian prime minister, being largely bribed, indirectly obtained his master's consent to suffer this lord to build forts, and provide himself with arms, under pretence of preventing the inroads of the Tartars. This little depending sovereign, finding he was now in a condition to be troublesome, began to insist upon terms, and threatened upon every occasion to unite with the Tartars: upon which the prime minister, who began to be in pain about his head, proposed a match betwixt his master and the only daughter of this tributary lord, which he had the good luck to bring to pass; and from that time valued himself as author of a most glorious union, which indeed was grown of absolute necessity by his corruption." This passage, cited literally from an old history of Sarmatia, I thought fit to set down, on purpose to perplex little smattering remarkers, and put them upon the hunt for an application. *

* The author of the MEDLEY, one of those "smattering remarkers," did not fail to translate this piece of Sarmatian history into plain English. It contains that account of the Union, which Swift says was sanctioned by Lord Somers' avowal, and which afterwards, when published in the "Public Spirit of the Whigs," gave such bitter offence to the Scottish Peers, that they waited upon Queen Anne in a body to state their complaint against the author. "England being bounded on the north by a poor mountainous people, called Scots, who were vassals to that crown; and the English prime minister, being largely bribed, obtained the queen's consent for the Scots to arm and exercise themselves; and they,

No. XX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1710.

—*pugnacem scirent sapiente minorem.*

Arms to the gown the victory must yield.

I AM very much at a loss how to proceed upon the subject intended in this paper, which a new incident has led me to engage in. The subject I mean is, that of soldiers and the army; but being a matter wholly out of my trade, I shall handle it in as cautious a manner as I am able.

It is certain, that the art of war has suffered great changes almost in every age and country of the world; however, there are some maxims relating to it, that will be eternal truths, and which every reasonable man must allow.

In the early times of Greece and Rome, the armies of those states were composed of their citizens, who took no pay, because the quarrel was their own; and therefore the war was usually de-

finding they were now in a condition to be troublesome, began to insist upon terms, and threatened, upon every occasion, to join with the French. Upon which the prime minister, who began to be in pain about his head, set on foot a treaty to unite the two kingdoms, which he had the good luck to bring to pass, and from that time valued himself as author of a most glorious union, which, indeed, was grown of absolute necessity, by his corruption."—*Medley*, No. 14.

cided in one campaign ; or, if it lasted longer, yet in winter the soldiers returned to their several callings, and were not distinguished from the rest of the people. The Gothic governments in Europe, although they were of military institution, yet observed almost the same method. I shall instance only here in England : those, who held lands *in capite* of the king, were obliged to attend him in his wars with a certain number of men, who all held lands from them, at easy rents, on that condition. These fought without pay ; and when the service was over, returned again to their farms. It is recorded of William Rufus, that being absent in Normandy, and engaged in a war with his brother, he ordered twenty thousand men to be raised, and sent over hence to supply his army ; but, having struck up a peace before they were embarked, he gave them leave to disband, upon condition they would pay him ten shillings a man, which amounted to a mighty sum in those days.

Consider a kingdom as a great family, whereof the prince is the father, and it will appear plainly, that mercenary troops are only servants armed, either to awe the children at home, or else to defend from invaders the family, who are otherwise employed, and choose to contribute out of their stock for paying their defenders, rather than leave their affairs to be neglected in their absence. The art of making soldiery a trade, and keeping armies in pay, seems in Europe to have had two originals : the first was usurpation ; when popular men destroyed the liberties of their country, and seized the power into their own hands, which they were forced to maintain by hiring guards to bridle the people. Such were anciently the tyrants in most of the small states of Greece ; and such were those in several parts of Italy, about three or four centuries

ago, as Machiavel informs us. The other original of mercenary armies seems to have risen from larger kingdoms, or commonwealths, which had subdued provinces at a distance, and were forced to maintain troops upon them, to prevent insurrections from the natives. Of this sort were Macedonia, Carthage, and Rome of old; Venice and Holland at this day, as well as most kingdoms in Europe. So that mercenary forces in a free state, whether monarchy or commonwealth, seem only necessary, either for preserving their conquests, (which in such governments it is not prudent to extend too far,) or else for maintaining war at a distance.

In this last, which at present is our most important case, there are certain maxims, that all wise governments have observed.

The first I shall mention is, that no private man should have a commission to be general for life, let his merit and services be ever so great; or, if a prince be unadvisedly brought to offer such a commission in one hand, let him (to save time and blood) deliver up his crown with the other. The Romans, in the height and perfection of their government, usually sent out one of the new consuls to be general against their most formidable enemy, and recalled the old one; who often returned before the next election, and according as he had merit, was sent to command in some other part; which perhaps was continued to him for a second, and sometimes a third year. But if Paulus Æmilius, or Scipio himself, had presumed to move the senate to continue their commission for life, they

* This, it is confidently affirmed by the Tory writers, was a scheme of the Duke of Marlborough.

would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy of the people. Cæsar, indeed (between whom and a certain general, some of late, with much discretion, have made a parallel) * had his command

* The EXAMINER seems to allude to the following remarkable, and, to say the least, imprudent, article in the TATLER, No. 37. Such a passage, published by so warm an adherent of Marlborough as Steele, gives credit to Macpherson's assertion, that there really was some intention of maintaining the Duke in power, by his influence in the army. It is even affirmed, that under pretence his commission under the great seal could not be superseded by the queen's order of dismissal, it was designed that he should assemble the troops which were in town, and secure the court and capital. To prevent which, his commission was superseded by another under the great seal being issued as speedily as possible. The industrious editor of the Tatler in 1786, is of opinion, that the following article was written by Addison; but the violent councils which it intimates, seem less congenial to his character than to that of Steele, a less reflecting man, and bred a soldier. It is worthy of notice, that the passage is cancelled in all subsequent editions of the Tatler, till restored from the original folio in that of 1786. This evidently implies Steele's own sense, that more was meant than met the ear; and it affords a presumptive proof, that very violent measures had at least been proposed, if not agreed upon, by some of Marlborough's adherents.

"Will's Coffee-house, July 3.

"A very ingenious gentleman was complaining this evening, that the players are grown so severe critics, that they would not take in his play, though it has as many fine things in it as any play that has been writ since the days of Dryden. He began his discourse about his play with a preface.

"There is, said he, somewhat (however we palliate it) in the very frame and make of us, that subjects our minds to chagrin and irresolution on any emergency of time or place. The difficulty grows on our sickened imagination, under all the killing circumstances of danger and disappointment. This we see, not only in the men of retirement and fancy, but in the characters of the men of action; with this only difference, the coward sees the danger, and sickens under it; the hero, warmed by the difficulty, dilates and rises in proportion to that, and in some sort makes use of his very fears to disarm it. A remarkable instance of this we

in Gaul continued to him for five years; and was afterwards made perpetual Dictator, that is to say, general for life; which gave him the power and the will of utterly destroying the Roman liberty. But in this time the Romans were very much de-

have in the great Cæsar, when he came to the Rubicon, and was entering upon a part, perhaps the most hazardous he ever bore, (certainly the most ungrateful,) a war with his countrymen. When his mind brooded o'er personal affronts, perhaps his anger burned with a desire of revenge. But when more serious reflections laid before him the hazard of the enterprize, with the dismal consequences which were likely to attend it, aggravated by a special circumstance, 'What figure it would bear in the world, or how be excused to posterity! What shall he do?' His honour, which was his religion, bids him arm; and he sounds the inclinations of his party, by this set speech:—

Cæsar to his Party at the Rubicon.

"Great Jove, attend, and those my native soil,
Safe in my triumphs, glutted in my spoil;
Witness with what reluctance I oppose
My arms to thine, secure of other foes.
What passive breast can bear disgrace like mine?
Traitor!—For this I conquer'd on the Rhine,
Endured their ten years drudgery in Gaul,
Adjourn'd their fate, and saved the Capitol.
I grew by every guilty triumph less;
The crowd, when drunk with joy, their souls express
Impatient of the war, yet fear success.
Brave actions dazzle with too bright a ray,
Like birds obscene they chatter at the day;
Giddy with rule, and valiant in debate,
They throw the die of war, to save the state.
And gods! to gild ingratitude with fame,
Assume the patriot's with the rebel's name.
Farewell, my friends, your general forlorn,
To your bare pity, and the public scorn,
Must lay that honour and his laurel down,
To serve the vain caprices of the gown;
Exposed to all indignities the brave
Deserve of those they glory'd but to save,
To rods and axes!—No, the slaves can't dare
Play with my grief, and tempt my last despair;
This shall the honours which it won maintain,
Or do me justice, ere I hug my chain."

generated, and great corruptions had crept into their morals and discipline. However, we see there still were some remains of a noble spirit among them; for, when Cæsar sent to be chosen consul, notwithstanding his absence, they decreed he should come in person, give up his command, and *petere more majorum*.

It is not impossible, but a general may desire such a commission out of inadvertency, at the instigation of his friends, or perhaps of his enemies, or merely for the benefit and honour of it, without intending any such dreadful consequences; and, in that case, a wise prince, or state, may barely refuse it, without showing any marks of their displeasure. But the request, in its own nature, is highly criminal, and ought to be entered so upon record, to terrify others, in time to come, from venturing to make it.

Another maxim to be observed, by a free state engaged in war, is, to keep the military power in absolute subjection to the civil, nor ever suffer the former to influence or interfere with the latter. A general and his army are servants, hired by the civil power to act, as they are directed thence, and with a commission large or limited, as the administration shall think fit; for which they are largely paid in profit and honour. The whole system, by which armies are governed, is quite alien from the peaceful institutions of states at home; and if the rewards be so inviting as to tempt a senator to take a post in the army, while he is there on his duty, he ought to consider himself in no other capacity. I know not any sort of men so apt, as soldiers are, to reprimand those who presume to interfere in what relates to their trade. When they hear any of us in a coffeehouse, wondering, that such a victory was

not pursued; complaining, that such a town cost more men and money than it was worth to take it; or, that such an opportunity was lost in fighting the enemy; they presently reprove us, and often with justice enough, for meddling with matters out of our sphere; and clearly convince us of our mistakes, by terms of art that none of us understand. Nor do we escape so; for they reflect with the utmost contempt on our ignorance, that we, who sit at home in ease and security, never stirring from our firesides, should pretend, from books and general reason, to argue upon military affairs; which, after all, if we may judge from the share of intellectuals in some, who are said to excel that way, is not so very profound or difficult a science.* But, if there be any weight in what they offer, as perhaps there may be a great deal, surely these gentlemen have a much weaker pretence to concern themselves in matters of the cabinet, which are always either far above, or much beside their capacities. Soldiers may as well pretend to prescribe rules for trade, to determine points in philosophy, to be moderators in an assembly of divines, or direct in a court of justice, as to misplace their talent in examining affairs of state; especially in what relates to the choice of ministers, who are never so likely to be ill chosen as when approved by them. It would be endless to show how pernicious all steps of this nature have been in many parts and ages of the world. I shall only produce two at present;

* Swift, whose private and peculiar prejudices are often warped in with his political opinions, seems to have had a great dislike to officers of the army. See the character, introduced as an officer, in the humorous poem on Hamilton's Bawn,

one in Rome, the other in England. The first is of Cæsar: when he came to the city with his soldiers to settle the ministry, there was an end of their liberty for ever. The second was, in the great rebellion against King Charles the First: the king and both Houses were agreed upon the terms of a peace; but the officers of the army (as Ludlow relates it) set a guard upon the House of Commons, took a list of the members, and kept all by force out of the House, except those who were for bringing the king to a trial. Some years after, when they erected a military government, and ruled the island by major generals, we received most admirable instances of their skill in politics. To say the truth, such formidable sticklers* can have but two reasons for desiring to interfere in the administration; the first is, that of Cæsar and Cromwell, of which God forbid I should accuse or suspect any body, since the second is pernicious enough, and that is, to preserve those in power, who are for perpetuating a war, rather than see others advanced, who, they are sure, will use all proper means to promote a safe and honourable peace.

Thirdly, since it is observed of armies, that in the present age they are brought to some degree of humanity, and more regular demeanour to each other and to the world, than in former times, it is certainly a good maxim to endeavour preserving this temper among them; without which, they would soon degenerate into savages. To this end,

* The judges of the field in a formal duel, whose duty it was to interfere when the rules of judicial combat were violated, were called sticklers, from the wooden truncheons which they held in their hands. Hence the verb to *stickle*.

it would be prudent, among other things, to forbid that detestable custom of drinking to the damnation or confusion of any person whatsoever.*

Such desperate acts, and the opinions infused along with them into heads already inflamed by youth and wine, are enough to scatter madness and sedition through a whole camp. So seldom upon their knees to pray, and so often to curse ! this is not properly atheism, but a sort of antireligion prescribed by the devil, and which an atheist of common sense would scorn as an absurdity. I have heard it mentioned as a common practice last autumn, somewhere or other, to drink damnation and confusion (and this with circumstances very aggravating and horrid) to the new ministry, and to those who had any hand in turning out the old ; that is to say, to those persons whom her majesty has thought fit to employ in her greatest affairs, with something more than a glance against the queen herself. And if it be true, that these orgies were attended with certain doubtful words of standing by their general, who without question abhorred them, let any man consider the consequence of such dispositions, if they should happen to spread. I could only wish, for the honour of the army, as well as of the queen and ministry, that a remedy had been applied to the disease, in the place and time where it grew. If men of such principles were able to propagate them in a camp, and were sure of a general for life, who had any tincture of ambition, we might soon

* Several of the officers in Marlborough's army had drunk damnation to the new ministry on their knees ; for which General Honeywood and others lost their commissions. See Journal, vol. ii, p. 103.

bid farewell to ministers and parliaments, whether new or old.

I am only sorry such an accident has happened toward the close of a war, when it is chiefly the interest of those gentlemen, who have posts in the army, to behave themselves in such a manner, as might encourage the legislature to make some provision for them, when there will be no farther need of their services. They are to consider themselves as persons, by their education, unqualified for many other stations of life. Their fortunes will not suffer them to retain* to a party after its fall, nor have they weight or abilities to help toward its resurrection. Their future dependence is wholly upon the prince and parliament, to which they will never make their way by solemn execrations of the ministry; a ministry of the queen's own election, and fully answering the wishes of her people. This unhappy step in some of their brethren may pass for an uncontrollable argument, that politics are not their business, or their element. The fortune of war has raised several persons up to swelling titles and great commands over numbers of men, which they are too apt to transfer along with them into civil life, and appear in all companies, as if they were at the head of their regiments, with a sort of deportment that ought to have been dropt behind in that short passage to Harwich. It puts me in mind of a dialogue in Lucian, where Charon, wafting one of their predecessors over Styx, ordered him to strip off his armour and fine clothes, yet still thought him too heavy: "But," said he, "put off likewise that pride and presumption, those high-

* This mode of expression is now obsolete, though we still say *retainers to a party*.

swelling words, and that vain glory;" because they were of no use on the other side of the water. Thus, if all that array of military grandeur were confined to the proper scene, it would be much more for the interest of the owners, and less offensive to their fellow subjects,

No. XXI.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1710.

Nam et majorum instituta tueri, sacris ceremoniisque retinendis, sapientis est.

—*Ruituraque semper*
Stat (mirum!) moles—

A wise man will protect and defend the rights of the church; which, in spite of the malice of its enemies, although tottering, and on the brink of destruction, stands secure, to the admiration of all men,

WHOEVER is a true lover of our constitution, must needs be pleased to see what successful endeavours are daily made to restore it, in every branch, to its ancient form, from the languishing condition it has long lain in, and with such deadly symptoms.

I have already handled some abuses during the late management, and shall, in convenient time, go on with the rest. Hitherto I have confined myself to those of the state; but, with the good leave

of some who think it a matter of small moment, I shall now take liberty to say something of the church.

For several years past, there has not, I think, in Europe, been any society of men upon so unhappy a foot as the clergy of England, nor more hardly treated by those very persons, from whom they deserved much better quarter, and in whose power they chiefly had put it to use them so ill. I would not willingly misrepresent facts; but I think it generally allowed by enemies and friends, that the bold and brave defences made before the Revolution, against those many invasions of our rights, proceeded principally from the clergy, who are likewise known to have rejected all advances made them, to close with the measures at that time concerting; while the dissenters, to gratify their ambition and revenge, fell into the basest compliances with the court, approved of all proceedings by their numerous and fulsome addresses, and took employments and commissions, by virtue of the dispensing power, against the direct laws of the land.* All this is so true, that, if ever the Pretender comes in, they will, next to those of his own religion, have the fairest claim and pretensions to his favour, from their merit and eminent services to his supposed father; who, without such encouragement, would probably never have been misled to go the lengths he did. It should likewise be remembered, to the everlasting honour of the London divines, that, in those

* The dissenters were at first disposed to make common cause with the Catholics in favour of the dispensing power claimed by James II. ; and an address from the Presbyterians went so far as to praise the king for having "restored to God his empire over conscience."

dangerous times, they writ and published the best collection of arguments against popery, that ever appeared in the world. At the Revolution, the body of the clergy joined heartily in the common cause, except a few, whose sufferings perhaps have atoned for their mistakes, like men who are content to go about for avoiding a gulf or a precipice, but come into the old straight road again as soon as they can. But another temper had now begun to prevail; for, as in the reign of King Charles the First, several well-meaning people were ready to join in reforming some abuses, while others, who had deeper designs, were still calling out for a thorough reformation, which ended at last in the ruin of the kingdom; so, after the late king's coming to the throne, there was a restless cry from men of the same principles for a thorough revolution, which, as some were carrying it on, must have ended in the destruction of the monarchy and church.

What a violent humour has run ever since against the clergy, and from what corner spread and fomented, is, I believe, manifest to all men. It looked like a set quarrel against Christianity; and if we call to mind several of the leaders, it must, in a great measure, have been actually so. Nothing was more common, in writing and conversation, than to hear that reverend body charged in gross with what was utterly inconsistent, despised for their poverty, hated for their riches; reproached with avarice, and taxed with luxury; accused for promoting arbitrary power, and for resisting the prerogative; censured for their pride, and scorned for their meanness of spirit. The representatives of the lower clergy were railed at for disputing the power of the bishops, by the known abhorrrers of episcopacy, and abused for doing nothing in the convocations, by those very men who helped to bind up their hands. The vice,

the folly, the ignorance of every single man, were laid upon the character; their jurisdiction, censures, and discipline, trampled under foot; yet mighty complaints against their excessive power; the men of wit employed to turn the priesthood itself into ridicule; in short, groaning every where under the weight of poverty, oppression, contempt, and obloquy. A fair return for the time and money spent in their education to fit them for the service of the altar, and a fair encouragement for worthy men to come into the church! However, it may be some comfort to the persons of that holy function, that their divine Founder, as well as his harbinger, met with the like reception:—"John came neither eating or drinking, and they say, he hath a devil; the Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, behold a glutton and a wine-bibber," &c.

In this deplorable state of the clergy, nothing but the hand of Providence, working by its glorious instrument the queen, could have been able to turn the people's hearts so surprisingly in their favour. This princess, destined for the safety of Europe, and a blessing to her subjects, began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church; and it was hoped the nation would have followed such an example, which nothing could have prevented, but the false politics of a set of men, who form their maxims upon those of every tottering commonwealth, which is always struggling for life, subsisting by expedients, and often at the mercy of any powerful neighbour. These men take it into their imagination, that trade can never flourish, unless the country becomes a common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages; a system only proper for small popular states, but altogether unworthy and below the dignity of an imperial crown; which, with us, is best upheld by a monarchy in possession of its just

prerogative, a senate of nobles and of commons. and a clergy established in its due rights, with a suitable maintenance by law.* But these men come, with the spirit of shopkeepers, to frame rules for the administration of kingdoms; or, as if they thought the whole art of government consisted in the importation of nutmegs, and the curing of herrings. Such an island as ours can afford enough to support the majesty of a crown, the honour of a nobility, and the dignity of a magistracy; we can encourage arts and sciences, maintain our bishops and clergy, and suffer our gentry to live in a decent hospitable manner; yet still there will remain hands sufficient for trade and manufactures, which do always indeed deserve the best encouragement, but not to a degree of sending every living soul into the warehouse or the workshop.

This pedantry of republican politics has done infinite mischief among us. To this we owe those noble schemes of treating Christianity as a system of speculative opinions, which no man should be bound to believe; of making the being and the worship of God a creature of the state; in consequence of these, that the teachers of religion ought to hold their maintenance at pleasure, or live by the alms and charitable collection of the people, and be equally encouraged of all opinions; that they should be prescribed what to teach, by those who are to learn from them; and, upon default, have a staff and a pair of shoes left at their door,† with many other projects of equal piety, wisdom, and good nature.

* Something being allowed for the ardour of dispute, enough remains in this position that is highly censurable.

† This is said to have been the mode in which the governors of a Dutch province were wont to give intimation to those who

But, God be thanked, they and their schemes are vanished, and their places shall know them no more. When I think of that inundation of atheism, infidelity, profaneness, and licentiousness, which was likely to overwhelm us, from what mouths and hearts it first proceeded, and how the people joined with the queen's endeavours to divert this flood, I cannot but reflect on that remarkable passage in the Revelation, where "the serpent with seven heads* cast out of his mouth water after the woman, like a flood, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood: but the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood, which the dragon had cast out of his mouth." For the queen having changed her ministry suitable to her own wisdom and the wishes of her subjects, and having called a free parliament, and at the same time summoned the convocation by her royal writ, as in all times had been accustomed; and, soon after their meeting, sent a most gracious letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, to be communicated to the bishops and clergy of his province, taking notice of "the loose and profane principles, which had been openly scattered and propagated among her subjects; that the consultations of the clergy were particularly requisite to repress and prevent such daring attempts, for which her subjects from all parts of the kingdom have shown their just abhorrence; she hopes the endeavours of the clergy in this respect will not be unsuccessful; and, for her part, is ready to give them all fit en-

intermeddled with state affairs, that they would do wisely to withdraw themselves from the state.

* Meaning the seven heads of the opposition, called in No. 25. a. Heptarchy.

couragement to proceed in the dispatch of such business as properly belongs to them, and to grant them powers requisite to carry on so good a work:" in conclusion, "earnestly recommending to them to avoid disputes; and determining to do all that in her lies to compose and extinguish them."

It is to be hoped, that this last part of her majesty's letter will be the first she will please to execute; for, it seems, this very letter created the first dispute, the fact whereof is thus related:—The Upper House, having formed an address to the queen before they received her majesty's letter, sent both address and letter together to the Lower House, with a message, excusing their not mentioning the letter in the address; because this was formed before the other was received. The Lower House returned them, with a desire that an address might be formed with a due regard and acknowledgments for the letter. After some difficulties, the same address was sent down again, with a clause inserted, making some short mention of the said letter. This the Lower House did not think sufficient, and sent it back again with the same request; whereupon the archbishop, after a short consultation with some of his brethren, immediately adjourned the convocation for a month; and no address at all was sent to the queen.*

* During the reign of King William III. the Convocation was regularly summoned to meet at the same time with the parliament; but was as regularly prorogued without being allowed an opportunity to proceed to business. In 1709, the Lower House of Convocation refused to submit to prorogation, claiming a privilege to continue sitting as long as the parliament. In 1710, the ministry, who had come in by the cry that the church was in danger, expected not a little support from the Convocation, especially from the Lower House, which was under the management

I understand not ecclesiastical affairs well enough to comment upon this matter; but it seems to me, that all methods of doing service to the church and kingdom, by means of a convocation, may be at any time eluded, if there be no remedy against such an incident. And, if this proceeding be agreeable to the institution, spiritual assemblies must needs be strangely contrived, very different from any lay senate yet known in the world. Surely, from the nature of such a synod, it must be a very unhappy circumstance, when the majority of the bishops draws one way, and that of the lower clergy another. The latter, I think, are not at this time suspected for any principle bordering upon those professed by enemies to episcopacy; and if they happen to differ from the greater part of the present set of bishops, I doubt it will call some things to mind, that may turn the scale of general favour on the inferior clergy's side; who, with a profound duty to her majesty, are perfectly pleased with the present turn of affairs. Besides, curious people will be apt to inquire into the dates of some promotions; to call to mind what designs were then upon the anvil, and thence make malicious deductions. Perhaps they will observe the manner of voting on the bishops' bench, and compare it with what shall pass in the upper house of convocation. There is, however, one comfort, that, under the present dispositions of the kingdom, a dislike to the proceed-

of Atterbury. In the Upper House, the low church tenets predominated, owing to the influence of Tennison, the primate, and of such other prelates as had been promoted while the Whigs were in power. Hence various disputes took place betwixt the houses; nor were they able to agree upon the terms of a representation to the queen in answer to her letter.

ings of any of their lordships, even to the number of a majority, will be purely personal, and not turned to the disadvantage of the order. And for my part, as I am a true lover of the church, I would rather find the inclinations of the people favourable to episcopacy in general, than see a majority of prelates cried up by those, who are known enemies to the character. Nor, indeed, has anything given me more offence for several years past, than to observe how some of that bench have been caressed by certain persons, and others of them openly celebrated by the infamous pens of atheists, republicans, and fanatics.

Time and mortality can only remedy these inconveniences in the church, which are not to be cured, like those in the state, by a change of ministry. If we may guess the temper of a convocation from the choice of a prolocutor, as it is usual to do that of a house of commons by the speaker, we may expect great things from that reverend body, who have done themselves much reputation, by pitching upon a gentleman of so much piety, wit, and learning, for that office, and one who is so thoroughly versed in those parts of knowledge, which are proper for it.* I am sorry that the three Latin speeches, delivered upon presenting the prolocutor, were not made public; they might perhaps have given us some light into the disposition of each House; and, besides, one of them is said to be so peculiar in the style and matter, as might have made up in entertainment what it wanted in instruction.†

Atterbury, afterwards bishop of Rochester.

† He probably alludes to that made by Dr Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury; a dull and heavy, though very worthy man. He was a keen adherent of the Whig party.

No. XXII.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, 1711.

Nullæ sunt occultiores insidiæ, quam cæ, quæ latent in simulatione officii, aut in aliquo necessitudinis nomine.

It is extremely difficult to explore those designs which are conceived under the veil of duty, and lie hid under the pretence of friendship.

The following answer is written in the true style, and with the usual candour of such pieces; which I have imitated to the best of my skill, and doubt not but the reader will be extremely satisfied with it.

The Examiner cross-examined; or, A full Answer to the last Examiner.

IF I durst be so bold with this author, I would gladly ask him a familiar question:—Pray, sir, who made you an examiner? He talks in one of his insipid papers of eight or nine thousand corruptions, while we were at the head of affairs; yet in all this time he has hardly produced fifty:

Parturiunt montes, &c.

HOR.

But I shall confine myself at present to his last paper. He tells us, the queen began her reign with a

noble benefaction to the church. Here's priestcraft with a witness ! This is the constant language of your highfliers, to call those who are hired to teach the religion of the magistrate, by the name of the church. But this is not all ; for, in the very next line, he says, It was hoped the nation would have followed this example. You see the faction begins already to speak out ; this is an open demand for the abbey-lands. This furious zealot would have us priest-ridden again, like our popish ancestors ; but it is to be hoped the government will take timely care to suppress such audacious attempts ; else we have spent so much blood and treasure to very little purpose, in maintaining religion and the Revolution. But what can we expect from a man, who at one blow endeavours to ruin our trade ? A country, says he, may flourish (these are his own words) without being the common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages. What ! we must immediately banish or murder the Palatines ; forbid all foreign merchants not only the Exchange but the kingdom ; persecute the dissenters with fire and faggot ; and make it high treason to speak any other tongue but English. In another place, he talks of a serpent with seven heads, which is a manifest corruption of the text ; for the words, *seven heads*, are not mentioned in that verse. However, we know what serpent he would mean ; a serpent with fourteen legs, or indeed no serpent at all, but seven great men, who were the best ministers, the truest Protestants, and the most disinterested patriots that ever served a prince. But nothing is so inconsistent as this writer. I know not whether to call him a Whig or a Tory, a Protestant or a Papist ; he finds fault with convocations ; says, they are assemblies strangely contrived, and yet lays the fault upon us, that we bound their hands : I wish

we could have bound their tongues too. But, as fast as their hands were bound, they could make a shift to hold their pens, and have their share in the guilt of ruining the hopefulest party and ministry, that ever prescribed to a crown. This captious gentleman is angry to see a majority of prelates cried up by those, who are enemies to the character; now I always thought, that the concessions of enemies were more to a man's advantage than the praise of his friends. Time and mortality, he says, can only remedy these inconveniences in the church; that is, in other words, when certain bishops are dead, we shall have others of our own stamp. Not so fast; you are not yet so sure of your game. We have already got one comfortable loss in Spain,* although by a general of our own; for joy of which, our junto had a merry meeting at the house of their great proselyte,† on the very day we received the happy news. One or two more such blows would perhaps set us right again, and then we can employ mortality as well as others. He concludes with wishing, that three letters, spoken when the prolocutor was presented, were made public. I suppose he would be content with one, and that is more than we shall humour him to grant. However, I hope he will allow it possible to have grace, without either eloquence or Latin, which is all I shall say to this malicious innuendo.

Having thus, I hope, given a full and satisfactory answer to the Examiner's last paper, I shall now go

* At Brihuega, where, by some mismanagement, the British troops, under General Stanhope, were surprised and made prisoners, almost within hearing of General Stahremberg, who commanded the rest of the confederate army. This mischance happened 21st November, 1701.

† Probably the earl of Nottingham.

on to a more important affair, which is, to prove, by several undeniable instances, that the late ministry and their abettors were true friends to the church. It is yet, I confess, a secret to the clergy wherein this friendship did consist. For information therefore of that reverend body, that they may never forget their benefactors, as well as of all others who may be equally ignorant, I have determined to display our merits to the world upon that weighty article. And I could wish, that what I am to say were to be written in brass, for an eternal memorial; the rather, because for the future the church may endeavour to stand unsupported by those patrons, who expired in doing it their last good office, and will never rise to preserve it any more.

Let us therefore produce the pious endeavours of these church defenders, who were its patrons, by their power and authority, as well as ornaments of it, by their exemplary lives.

First, St Paul tells us, there must be heresies in the church, that the truth may be manifest; and therefore, by due course of reasoning, the more heresies there are, the more manifest will the truth be made. This being maturely considered by these lovers of the church, they endeavoured to propagate as many heresies as they could, that the light of truth might shine the clearer.

Secondly, To show their zeal for the church's defence, they took the care of it entirely out of the hands of God Almighty, (because that was a foreign jurisdiction,) and made it their own creature, depending altogether upon them; and issued out their orders to Tindal, and others, to give public notice of it.

Thirdly, Because charity is the most celebrated of all Christian virtues, therefore they extended

theirs beyond all bounds; and instead of shutting the church against dissenters, were ready to open it to all comers, and break down its walls, rather than that any should want room to enter. The strength of a state, we know, consists in the number of people, how different soever in their callings; and why should not the strength of a church consist in the same, how different soever in their creeds? For that reason, they charitably attempted to abolish the test, which tied up so many hands from getting employments, in order to protect the church.

I know very well, that this attempt is objected to as a crime by several malignant Tories; and denied as a slander by many unthinking people among ourselves. The latter are apt, in their defence, to ask such questions as these: Was your test repealed? had we not a majority? might we not have done it, if we pleased? To which the others answer, you did what you could: you prepared the way, but you found a fatal impediment from that quarter whence the sanction of the law must come; and therefore, to save your credit, you condemned a paper to be burnt, which yourselves had brought in. But alas! the miscarriage of that noble project for the safety of the church, had another original; the knowledge whereof depends upon a piece of secret history, which I shall now lay open.

These church-protectors had directed a presbyterian preacher to draw up a bill for repealing the test. It was accordingly done with great art; and in the preamble, several expressions of civility to the established church; and when it came to the qualifications of all those who were to enter on any office, the compiler had taken special care to make them large enough for all Christians whatsoever, by transcribing the very words (only formed into an oath) which Quakers are obliged to profess

by a former act of parliament, as I shall here set them down : " I, A. B, profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God ; and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for evermore ; and do acknowledge the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration." This bill was carried to the chief leaders, for their approbation, with these terrible words turned into an oath : What should they do ? Those few among them, who fancied they believed in God, were sure they did not believe in Christ, or the Holy Spirit, or one syllable of the Bible ; and they were as sure that every body knew their opinion in those matters. which indeed they had been always too sincere to disguise ; how therefore could they take such an oath as that, without ruining their reputation with Tindal, Toland, Coward, Collins, Clendon, and all the tribe of free-thinkers, and so give a scandal to weak unbelievers ? Upon this nice point of honour and conscience, the matter was hushed, the project for repealing the test let fall, and the sacrament left as the smaller evil of the two.

Fourthly, These pillars of the church, because the harvest was great, and the labourers few, and because they would ease the bishops from the grievous trouble of laying on hands, were willing to allow that power to all men whatsoever, to prevent that terrible consequence of unchurching those, who thought a hand from under a cloak, as effectual as from lawn sleeves. And indeed what could more contribute to the advancement of true religion, than a bill of general naturalization for priesthood ?

Fifthly, In order to fix religion in the minds of men, because truth never appears so fair as when confronted with falsehood, they directed books to

be published, that denied the being of a God, the divinity of the Second and Third Person, the truth of all revelation, and the immortality of the soul. To this we owe that great sense of religion, that respect and kindness of the clergy, and that true love of virtue, so manifest of late years among the youth of our nation. Nor could anything be more discreet, than to leave the merits of each cause to such wise, impartial judges ; who might otherwise fall under the slavery of believing, by education and prejudice.

Sixthly, Because nothing so much distracts the thoughts, as too great a variety of subjects, therefore they had kindly prepared a bill to prescribe the clergy what subjects they should preach upon, and in what manner, that they might be at no loss ; and this no doubt was a proper work for such hands, so thoroughly versed in the theory and practice of all Christian duties.

Seventhly, To save trouble and expense to the clergy, they contrived that convocations should meet as seldom as possible ; and when they were suffered to assemble, would never allow them to meddle with any business ; because, they said, the office of a clergyman was enough to take up the whole man. For the same reason they were very desirous to excuse the bishops from sitting in parliament, that they might be at more leisure to stay at home, and look after the inferior clergy.

I shall mention at present but one more instance of their pious zeal for the church. They had somewhere heard the maxim, that *Sanguis martyrū est semen ecclesiæ* ; therefore, in order to sow this seed, they began with impeaching a clergyman : * and

* Sacheverel.

that it might be a true martyrdom in every circumstance, they proceeded as much as possible against common law ; which the long-robe part of the managers knew was in a hundred instances directly contrary to all their positions, and were sufficiently warned of it beforehand ; but their love of the church prevailed. Neither was this impeachment an affair taken up on a sudden ; for a certain great person, * (whose character has been lately published by some stupid and lying writer,) who very much distinguished himself by his zeal in forwarding this impeachment, had several years ago endeavoured to persuade the late king to give way to just such another attempt. He told his majesty, there was a certain clergyman, who preached very dangerous sermons, and that the only way to put a stop to such insolence, was to impeach him in parliament. The king inquired the character of the man : O sir, said my lord, the most violent, hot, positive fellow in England ; so extremely wilful, that I believe he would be heartily glad to be a martyr. The king answered, Is it so ? then I am resolved to disappoint him ; and would never hear more of the matter, by which that hopeful project unhappily miscarried.

I have hitherto confined myself to those endeavours for the good of the church, which were common to all the leaders and principal men of our party ; but, if my paper were not drawing toward an end, I could produce several instances of particular persons, who, by their exemplary lives and actions, have confirmed the character so justly due to the whole body. I shall at present mention only two, and illustrate the merits of each by a matter of fact.

* Lord Wharton.

That worthy patriot and true lover of the church, whom a late Examiner is supposed to reflect on under the name of Verres, felt a pious impulse to be a benefactor to the cathedral of Gloucester; but how to do it in the most decent, generous manner, was the question. At last he thought of an expedient: one morning, or night, he stole into the church, mounted upon the altar, and there did that, which, in cleanly phrase, is called disburdening of nature. He was discovered, prosecuted, and condemned to pay a thousand pounds; which sum was all employed to support the church, as no doubt the benefactor meant it. *

There is another person, whom the same writer is thought to point at, under the name of Will Bigamy. † This gentleman, knowing that marriage fees were a considerable perquisite to the clergy, found out a way of improving them cent per cent for the good of the church. His invention was to marry a second wife, while the first was alive, convincing her of the lawfulness by such arguments, as he did not doubt would make others follow the same example. These he had drawn up in writing, with an intention to publish for the general good: and it is hoped, he may now have leisure to finish them.

* This anecdote relates to Lord Wharton, who, with other profligates, had been actually guilty of what is here stated. Swift, in a subsequent Examiner, acknowledges himself mistaken as to the precise church in which the fact was committed.

† Lord-chancellor Cowper. See a note upon No. 13. of the Examiner. Some unfortunate stains attached to this ingenious family. The chancellor was suspected of bigamy, and his brother, the judge, was tried for the supposed murder of Sarah Stout, a young lady attached to him.

No. XXIII.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 11, 1710-11.

Bellum ita suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi Pax quæsitâ videatur.

War should be undertaken only with a view to procure a solid
and lasting peace.

I AM satisfied, that no reasonable man of either party can justly be offended at any thing I said in one of my papers relating to the army. From the maxims I there laid down, perhaps many persons may conclude, that I had a mind the world should think there had been occasion given by some late abuses among men of that calling; and they conclude right: for my intention is, that my hints may be understood, and my quotations and allegories applied; and I am in some pain to think, that in the Orcades on one side, and the western coasts of Ireland on the other, the Examiner may want a key in several parts, which I wish I could furnish them with. As to the French king, I am under no concern at all: I hear he has left off reading my papers, and by what he has found in them, dislikes our proceedings more than ever; and intends either to make great additions to his armies, or propose new terms for a peace. So false is that which is commonly reported, of his mighty satisfaction in our change of ministry. * And I think it clear,

* Alluding to a pretended intercepted letter from the Bavarian

that his late letter of thanks to the Tories of Great Britain, must either have been extorted from him against his judgment, or was a cast of his politics to set the people against the present ministry, wherein it has wonderfully succeeded.

But, though I have never heard, or never regarded any objections made against that paper which mentions the army, yet I intended this as a sort of apology for it. And first I declare, (because we live in a mistaking world,) that at hinting at some proceedings, wherein a few persons are said to be concerned, I did not intend to charge them upon the body of the army. I have too much detested that barbarous injustice among the writers of a late party, to be ever guilty of it myself; I mean, the accusing of societies for the crimes of a few. On the other side, I must take leave to believe, that armies are no more exempt from corruptions, than other numbers of men. The maxims proposed were occasionally introduced by the report of certain facts, which I am bound to believe are true, because I am sure, considering what has passed, it would be a crime to think otherwise. All posts in the army, all employments at court, and many others, are, or ought to be, given and resumed at the mere pleasure of the prince; yet, when I see a great officer broke, a change made in the court, or the ministry, and this under the most just and gracious princess that ever reigned, I must naturally conclude, it is done upon prudent consi-

minister at Paris, dated Versailles, October 18, 1710, in which the French king and ministry are described as overjoyed at the change of government in England, and as promising to themselves the greatest advantages. It is published in French and English, in the Fourteenth Number of the *MEDLEY*.

derations, and for some great demerit in the sufferers. But then, is not the punishment sufficient? Is it generous or charitable, to trample on the unfortunate, and expose their faults to the world in the strongest colours? And would it not suit better with magnanimity, as well as common good nature, to leave them at quiet to their own thoughts and repentance? Yes, without question; provided it could be so contrived, that their very names, as well as actions, might be forgotten for ever: such an act of oblivion would be for the honour of the nation, and beget a better opinion of us with posterity; and then I might have spared the world and myself the trouble of examining. But at present there is a cruel dilemma in the case; the friends and abettors of the late ministry are every day publishing their praises to the world, and casting reflections upon the present persons in power. This is so barefaced an aspersion upon the queen, that I know not how any good subject can with patience endure it, although he were ever so indifferent with regard to the opinions in dispute. Shall they, who have lost all power and love of the people, be allowed to scatter their poison? and shall not those, who are at least of the strongest side, be suffered to bring an antidote? And how can we undeceive the deluded remainder, but by letting them see, that these discarded statesmen were justly laid aside; and producing as many instances to prove it as we can, not from any personal hatred to them, but in justification to the best of queens. The many scurrilities I have heard and read against this poor paper of mine, are in such a strain, that, considering the present state of affairs, they look like a jest. They usually run after the following manner: "What! Shall this insolent writer presume to censure the late ministry, the ablest, the most

faithful, and truest lovers of their country and its constitution, that ever served a prince? Shall he reflect on the best House of Commons that ever sat within those walls? Has not the queen changed both, for a ministry and parliament of Jacobites and high-fliers, who are selling us to France, and bringing over the Pretender?" This is the very sum and force of all their reasonings, and this is their method of complaining against the Examiner. In them, it is humble and loyal to reflect upon the queen, and the ministry and parliament she has chosen with the universal applause of her people: in us, it is insolent to defend her majesty and her choice, or to answer their objections, by showing the reasons why those changes were necessary.

The same style has been used in the late case concerning some gentlemen in the army.* Such a clamour was raised by a set of men, who had the boldness to tax the administration with cruelty and injustice, that I thought it necessary to interfere a little, by showing the ill consequences that might arise from some proceedings, although without application to particular persons. And what do they offer in answer? Nothing but a few poor common-places against calumny and informers, which might have been full as just and seasonable in a plot against the sacred person of the queen.†

But by the way, why are these idle people so indiscreet to name those two words, which afford oc-

* Macartney, Meredith, Honeywood, and others, dismissed for drinking damnation to the queen's new ministry.

† He alludes to the MEDLEY, No. 13, which exclaims against the trifling babblers or prating knaves, "who reported what was done or spoken in private companies, and trusts that the information of such persons had not been allowed to cancel the merit of the soldier's services."

casion of laying open to the world such an infamous scene of subornation and perjury, as well as calumny and informing, as, I believe, is without example: when a whole cabal attempted an action, wherein a condemned criminal * refused to join with them for the reward of his life? Not that I disapprove their sagacity who could foretel so long before by what hand they should one day fall, and therefore thought any means justifiable, by which they might prevent it.

But, waving this at present, it must be owned in justice to the army, that those violences did not proceed so far among them as some have believed; nor ought the madness of a few to be laid at their doors. For the rest, I am so far from denying the due praises to those brave troops who did their part in procuring so many victories for the allies, that I could wish every officer and private soldier had their full share of honour, in proportion to their deserts: being thus far of the Athenians' mind, who, when it was proposed that the statue of Miltiades should be set up alone in some public place of the city, said, they would agree to it, whenever he conquered alone, but not before. Neither do I at all blame the officers of the army for preferring in their hearts the late ministry before the present; or, if wishing alone could be of any use, for wishing their continuance, because then they might be secure of the war's continuance too: whereas, since affairs have been put into other hands, they may perhaps lie under some apprehensions of a peace;

* Gieg, a clerk in Harley's office, being convicted of a treasonable correspondence with France, great pains was taken by that statesman's political adversaries to involve him in the guilt of his subaltern. See much more of this hereafter.

which no army, especially in the course of success, was ever inclined to ; and which all wise states have in such a juncture chiefly endeavoured. This is a point, wherein the civil and military politics have always disagreed : and for that reason I affirmed it necessary, in all free governments, that the latter should be absolutely in subjection to the former ; otherwise one of these two inconveniences must arise, either to be perpetually in war, or to turn the civil institution into a military.

I am ready to allow all that has been said of the valour and experience of our troops, who have fully contributed their part to the great successes abroad ; nor is it their fault that those important victories had no better consequences at home, though it may be their advantage. War is their trade and business : to improve and cultivate the advantages of success, is an affair of the cabinet ; and the neglect of this, whether proceeding from weakness or corruption, according to the usual uncertainty of wars, may be of the most fatal consequence to a nation. For, pray let me represent our condition in such a light, as I believe both parties will allow, though perhaps not the consequences I shall deduce from it. We have been for above nine years blessed with a queen, who, beside all virtues that can enter into the composition of a private person, possesses every regal quality that can contribute to make a people happy : of great wisdom, yet ready to receive the advice of her counsellors : of much discernment in choosing proper instruments, when she follows her own judgment ; and only capable of being deceived by that excess of goodness which makes her judge of others by herself : frugal in her management, in order to contribute to the public, which in proportion she does, and that voluntarily, beyond any of her subjects ; but from her own na-

ture generous and charitable to all, who want or deserve; and, in order to exercise those virtues, denying herself all entertainments of expense which many others enjoy. Then, if we look abroad, at least in Flanders, our arms have been crowned with perpetual success in battles and sieges; not to mention several fortunate actions in Spain. These facts being thus stated, which none can deny, it is natural to ask, how we have improved such advantages, and to what account they have turned? I shall use no discouraging terms. When a patient grows daily worse by the tampering of mountebanks, there is nothing left but to call in the best physicians, before the case grows desperate. But I would ask, whether France, or any other kingdom, would have made so little use of such prodigious opportunities? the fruits whereof could never have fallen to the ground without the extremest degree of folly and corruption; and where those have lain, let the world judge. Instead of aiming at peace, while we had the advantage of the war, which has been the perpetual maxim of all wise states, it has been reckoned factious and malignant even to express our wishes for it; and such a condition imposed, as was never offered to any prince, who had an inch of ground to dispute; *quæ enim est conditio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi potest?*

It is not obvious to conceive what could move men, who sat at home, and were called to consult upon the good of the kingdom, to be so utterly averse from putting an end to a long, expensive war, which the victorious, as well as conquered, side, were heartily weary of. Few, or none of them, were men of the sword; they had no share in the honour; they had made large fortunes, and were at the head of all affairs. But they well knew

by what tenure they held their power; that the queen saw through their designs; that they had entirely lost the hearts of the clergy; that the landed men were against them; that they were detested by the body of the people; and that nothing bore them up but their credit with the bank, and other stocks, which would be neither formidable nor necessary, when the war was at an end. For these reasons, they resolved to disappoint all overtures of a peace, until they and their party should be so deeply rooted, as to make it impossible to shake them. To this end they began to precipitate matters so fast, as in a little time must have ruined the constitution, if the crown had not interposed, and rather ventured the accidental effects of their malice, than such dreadful consequences of their power. And indeed if the former danger had been greater than some hoped or feared, I see no difficulty in the choice, which was the same with his, who said, he would rather be devoured by wolves than by rats. I therefore still insist, that we cannot wonder at, or find fault with the army for concurring with the ministry, which was for prolonging the war. The inclination is natural in them all; pardonable in those who have not yet made their fortunes; and as lawful in the rest, as love of power, or love of money can make it. But, as natural, as pardonable, and as lawful as this inclination is, when it is not under check of the civil power, or when a corrupt ministry joins in giving it too great a scope, the consequence can be nothing less than infallible ruin and slavery to the state.

After I had finished this paper, the printer sent me two small pamphlets, called "The Management of the War";* written with some plausibility, much artifice, and abundance of misrepresentations, as well as direct falsehoods in point of fact. These I have thought worth examining, which I shall accordingly do, when I find an opportunity.

No. XXIV.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1710-11.

Parva momenta in spem metumque impellunt animos.

The merest trifles influence the human mind, and impel it to hope or fear.

HOPES are natural to most men, especially to sanguine complexions; and among the various changes that happen in the course of public affairs, they are seldom without some grounds. Even in desperate cases, where it is impossible they should have any foundation, they are often affected to keep a countenance, and make an enemy think we have

* Dr Hare, chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough, published at separate times four pamphlets upon "The Management of the War," entitled, Letters to a Tory member. The two first of these tracts are here alluded to.

some resource which they know nothing of. This appears to have been for several months past the condition of those people, whom I am forced, for want of other phrases, to call the ruined party. They have taken up, since their fall, some real, and some pretended hopes. When the Earl of Sunderland was discarded, they hoped her majesty would proceed no farther in the change of her ministry ; and had the insolence to misrepresent her words to foreign states. They hoped nobody durst advise the dissolution of the parliament.* When this was done, and farther alterations made in court, they hoped, and endeavoured to ruin the credit of the nation. They likewise hoped, that we should have some terrible loss abroad, which would force us to unravel all, and begin again upon their bottom. But, of all their hopes, whether real or assumed, there is none more extraordinary than that in which they now would seem to place their whole confidence : that this great turn of affairs was only occasioned by a short madness of the people, from which they will recover in a little time, when their eyes are open, and they grow cool and sober enough to consider the truth of things, and how much they have been deceived. It is not improbable, that some few of the deepest sighted among these reasoners are well enough convinced, how vain all such hopes must be : but for the rest, the wisest of them seem to have been very ill judges of the people's dispositions ; the want of which knowledge was a principal occasion to hasten their ruin ; for surely, had they suspected which way the popular current inclined, they never would have run

* Which hope has been the feeble crutch of many a falling ministry.

against it by that impeachment. I therefore conclude, they generally are so blind as to imagine some comfort from this fantastical opinion; that the people of England are at present distracted, but will shortly come to their senses again.

For the service therefore of our adversaries and friends, I shall briefly examine this point, by showing what are the causes and symptoms of a people's madness; and how it differs from their natural bent and inclination.

It is Machiavel's observation, that the people, when left to their own judgment, do seldom mistake their true interests; and indeed they naturally love the constitution they are born under; never desiring to change, but under great oppressions. However, they are to be deceived by several means. It has often happened in Greece, and sometimes in Rome, that those very men who have contributed to shake off a former tyranny, have, instead of restoring the old constitution, deluded the people into a worse and more ignominious slavery. Besides, all great changes have the same effects upon commonwealths that thunder has upon liquors, making the dregs fly up to the top; the lowest plebeians rise to the head of affairs, and these preserve themselves, by representing the nobles, and other friends to the old government, as enemies to the public. The encouraging of new mysteries and new deities, with the pretences of farther purity in religion, has likewise been a frequent topic to mislead the people. And, not to mention more, the promoting false reports of dangers from abroad, has often served to prevent them from fencing against real dangers at home. By these and the like arts, in conjunction with a great depravity of manners, and a weak or corrupt administration, the madness of the people has risen to such a height, as to break in

pieces the whole frame of the best-instituted governments. But however, such great frenzies, being artificially raised, are a perfect force and constraint upon human nature; and under a wise steady prince, will certainly decline of themselves, settling like the sea after a storm; and then the true bent and genius of the people will appear. Ancient and modern story are full of instances to illustrate what I say.

In our own island we had a great example of a long madness in the people, kept up by a thousand artifices, like intoxicating medicines, until the constitution was destroyed; yet the malignity being spent, and the humour exhausted that served to foment it, before the usurpers could fix upon a new scheme, the people suddenly recovered, and peaceably restored the old constitution.

From what I have offered, it will be easy to decide whether this late change in the disposition of the people was a new madness, or a recovery from an old one. Neither do I see how it can be proved, that such a change had, in any circumstance, the least symptom of madness, whether my description of it be right or not. It is agreed, that the truest way of judging the disposition of the people in the choice of their representatives, is, by computing the county elections; and in these it is manifest, that five in six are entirely for the present measures; although the court was so far from interposing its credit, that there was no change in the admiralty, not above one or two in the lieutenancy, nor any other methods used to influence elections. * The

* The truth was, as Swift has told us in his *Memoirs* relating to the Change of Ministry, that the trial of Sacheverel kindled such a spirit through the country, that ministers saw a large ma-

free, unextorted addresses, sent some time before from every part of the kingdom, plainly showed, what sort of bent the people had taken, and from what motives. The election of members for this great city, carried, contrary to all conjecture, against the united interest of those two great bodies, the Bank and East India Company, was another convincing argument. Besides, the Whigs themselves have always confessed, that the bulk of landed men in England was generally of Tories. So that this change must be allowed to be according to the natural genius and disposition of the people; whether it were just and reasonable in itself or not.

Notwithstanding all which, you shall frequently hear the partisans of the late men in power, gravely and decisively pronounce, that the present ministry cannot possibly stand. Now they who affirm this, if they believe themselves, must ground their opinion upon the iniquity of the last being so far established and deeply rooted, that no endeavours of honest men will be able to restore things to their former state; or else these reasoners have been so misled by twenty years mismanagement, that they have forgot our constitution, and talk as if our monarchy and revolution began together. But the body of the people is wiser; and, by the choice they have made, show they do understand our constitution, and would bring it back to the old form; which, if the new ministers take care to maintain, they will and ought to stand; otherwise, they may fall like their predecessors. But I think, we may easily foresee what a parliament, freely chosen, without threatening or corruption, is likely to do,

majority of high-church members would be returned without the odium of government's interfering.

when no man should be in any danger to lose his place by the freedom of his voice.

But, who are the advancers of this opinion, that the present ministry cannot hold? It must be either such as are afraid to be called to an account in case it should hold, or those who keep offices, from which others, better qualified, were removed, and may reasonably apprehend to be turned out for worthier men to come into their places; since perhaps it will be necessary to make some changes that the public business of the nation may go on: or lastly, stockjobbers, who industriously spread such reports, that actions* may fall, and their friends buy to advantage.

Yet these hopes, thus freely expressed, as they are more sincere, so they are more supportable, than when they appear under the disguise and pretence of fears. Some of these gentlemen are employed to shake their heads in proper companies; to doubt where all this will end; to be in mighty pain for the nation; to show how impossible it is, that the public credit can be supported; to pray that all may do well, in whatever hands; but very much to doubt, that the Pretender is at the bottom. I know not any thing so nearly resembling this behaviour, as what I have often seen among the friends of a sick man, whose interest it is that he should die. The physicians protest they see no danger, the symptoms are good, the medicines answer expectation; yet still they are not to be comforted; they whisper he is a gone man, it is not possible he should hold out; he has perfect death in his face; they never liked his doctor. At last, the patient recovers, and their joy is as false as their grief.

* *i. e.* Stocks.

I believe there is no man so sanguine, who did not apprehend some ill consequences from the late change; though not in any proportion to the good ones: but it is manifest, the former have proved much fewer and lighter than were expected, either at home or abroad, by the fears of our friends, or the hopes of our enemies. Those remedies, that stir the humours in a diseased body, are at first more painful than the malady itself; yet certain death is the consequence of deferring them too long. Actions have fallen, and the loans are said to come in slowly. But, beside that something of this must have been, whether there had been any change or not; beside, that the surprise of every change, for the better as well as the worse, is apt to affect credit for a while; there is a farther reason, which is plain and scandalous. When the late party was at the helm, those who were called the Tories never put their resentments in balance with the safety of the nation; but cheerfully contributed to the common cause: now the scene is changed, the fallen party seems to act from very different motives; they have given the word about: they will keep their money, and be passive: and, in this point, stand upon the same foot with Papists and nonjurors. What would have become of the public, if the present great majority had acted thus during the late administration, before the others were masters of that wealth they have squeezed out of the landed men, and with the strength of which they would now hold the kingdom at defiance? *

* De Foe, himself a Whig, employs great part of his Review about this period, in conjuring the Whigs not to make the evil of which they complained, by precipitate sales of their stock. But a terror affected by some, and real in others, that the new ministers intended to bring the Chevalier St George, and pay the debt by a sponge, occasioned a great depression of the funds. Indeed, the

Thus much I have thought fit to say, without pointing reflections upon any particular person, which I have hitherto but sparingly done, and that only toward those whose characters are too profligate, for the managing of them to be of any consequence. Beside, as it is a talent I am not naturally fond of, so, in the subjects I treat, it is generally needless. If I display the effects of avarice and ambition, of bribery and corruption, of gross immorality and irreligion; those who are the least conversant in things, will easily know where to apply them. Not that I lay any weight upon the objections of such who charge me with this proceeding: it is notorious enough, that the writers of the other side were the first aggressors. Not to mention their scurrilous libels, many years ago, directly levelled at particular persons, how many papers do now come out every week, full of rude invectives against the present ministry, with the first and last letters of their names, to prevent mistakes! It is good sometimes to let these people see, that we neither want spirit nor materials to retaliate; and therefore, in this point alone, I shall follow their example, whenever I find myself sufficiently provoked; only with one addition, that whatever charges I bring, either general or particular, shall be religiously true, founded either upon avowed

stock was principally in the possession of persons who had little favour to expect from a House of Commons composed in a great measure of high-church land-holders, whose loud complaint was, that the monied interest had thriven by a war of which the country gentlemen had borne the chief burden. The system of funding was new, and had been severely censured by Swift, and other Tory writers. In these circumstances, stock-holders might reasonably entertain some apprehension that the national obligation to pay their debts might be declared void and null.

facts which none can deny, or such as I can prove from my own knowledge.

Being resolved publicly to confess any mistakes I have, been guilty of, I do hereby humbly desire the reader's pardon for one of mighty importance, about a fact in one of my papers said to be done in the cathedral of Gloucester. A whole Hydra of errors, in two words! For, as I am since informed, it was neither in the cathedral, nor city, nor county of Gloucester, but some other church of that diocese. If I had ever met any other objection of equal weight, although from the meanest hands, I should certainly have answered it.

No. XXV.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 25, 1710-11.

Διαλεξάμενοί τινα ἡσυχῇ, τὸ μὲν σὺμπαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῇ δυναστείᾳ, καὶ κατὰ
τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνάμωσαν.

Summissa quædam voce collocti sunt, quorum summa erat de dominatione sibi confirmanda, ac inimicis delendis, conjuratio.

They meet, they whisper together, and their whole design is to establish themselves in their ill-gotten power upon the ruin of their enemies.

Not many days ago I observed a knot of discontented gentlemen, cursing the Tories to hell for their uncharitableness in affirming, that if the late

ministry had continued to this time, we should have had neither church nor monarchy left. They are usually so candid, as to call that the opinion of the party, which they hear in a coffee-house, or over a bottle, from some warm young people, whom it is odds but they have provoked to say more than they believed, by some positions as absurd and ridiculous of their own. And so it proved in this very instance: for, asking one of these gentlemen what it was that provoked those he had been disputing with to advance such a paradox; he assured me, in a very calm manner, it was nothing in the world but that himself, and some others of the company, had made it appear, that the design of the present parliament and ministry was to bring in Popery, arbitrary power, and the Pretender: which I take to be an opinion fifty times more improbable, as well as more uncharitable, than what is charged upon the Whigs: because I defy our adversaries to produce one single reason for suspecting such designs in the persons now at the helm; whereas I can, upon demand, produce twenty to shew, that some late men had strong views toward a commonwealth, and the alteration of the church.

It is natural indeed, when a storm is over, that has only untiled our houses, and blown down some of our chimnies, to consider what farther mischiefs might have ensued, if it had lasted longer. However, in the present case, I am not of the opinion abovementioned. I believe the church and state might have lasted somewhat longer, although the late enemies to both had done their worst. I can hardly conceive how things would have been so soon ripe for a new revolution. I am convinced, that if they had offered to make such large and sudden strides, it must have come to blows; and according to the computation, we have now reason

to think a right one, I can partly guess what would have been the issue. Besides, we are sure the queen would have interposed before they came to extremities; and as little as they regarded the regal authority, would have been a check in their career.

But instead of this question, What would have been the consequence, if the late ministry had continued? I will propose another, which will be more useful for us to consider; and that is, What may we reasonably expect they will do, if ever they come into power again? This we know is the design and endeavour of all those scribbles which daily fly about in their favour; of all the false, insolent, and scandalous libels against the present administration, and of all those engines set at work to sink the actions and blow up the public credit. As for those who shew their inclinations by writing, there is one consideration, which I wonder does not sometimes affect them: for, how can they forbear having a good opinion of the gentleness and innocence of those who permit them to employ their pens as they do? It puts me in mind of an insolent, pragmatical orator somewhere in Greece, who railing with great freedom at the chief men in the state, was answered by one, who had been very instrumental in recovering the liberty of the city, that he thanked the gods, they had now arrived to the condition he always wished them in, when every man in that city might securely say what he pleased. I wish these gentlemen would however compare the liberty they take, with what their masters used to give; how many messengers and warrants would have gone out against any who durst have opened their lips, or drawn their pens against the persons and proceedings of their juntoes and cabals? How would their weekly writers have

been calling out for prosecution and punishment? We remember, when a poor nickname, * borrowed from an old play of Ben Jonson, and mentioned in a sermon without any particular application, was made use of as a motive to spur on an impeachment. But after all it must be confessed, they had reasons to be thus severe, which their successors have not: their faults would never endure the light; and to have exposed them sooner, would have raised the kingdom against the actors before the proper time.

But, to come to the subject I have now undertaken, which is, to examine what the consequences would be, upon supposition that the Whigs were now restored to their power. I already imagine the present free parliament dissolved, and another of a different epithet met, by the force of money and management. I read immediately a dozen or two of stinging votes against the proceedings of the late ministry. The bill † now to be repealed would then be re-enacted, and the birthright of an Englishman reduced again to the value of twelve-pence. But, to give the reader a strong imagination of such a scene, let me represent the designs of some men, lately endeavoured and projected, in the form of a paper of votes.

“ Ordered,

“ That a bill be brought in for repealing the sacramental test.

“ A petition of Tindal, Collins, Clendon, Cow-

* In Dr Sacheverel's famous sermon, he mentioned Godolphin under the nick-name of Volpone; a reflection so galling to that statesman, that, in spite of the remonstrances of Lord Somers, he insisted upon the preacher's being proceeded against by impeachment, of which the issue is well known.

† A bill for a general naturalization.

ard, and Toland, in behalf of themselves and many hundreds of their disciples, some of whom are members of this honourable House; desiring that leave may be given to bring in a bill for qualifying atheists, deists, and socinians, to serve their country in any employment, ecclesiastical, civil, or military.

“ Ordered,

“ That leave be given to bring in a bill, according to the prayer of the said petition; and that Mr Lechmere* do prepare and bring in the same.

“ Ordered,

“ That a bill be brought in for removing the education of youth out of the hands of the clergy.

“ Another to forbid the clergy preaching certain duties in religion; especially obedience to princes.

“ Another to take away the jurisdiction of bishops.

“ Another for constituting a general for life; with instructions to the committee, that care may be taken to make the war last as long as the life of the said general.

“ A bill of attainder against Charles Duke of Shrewsbury, † John Duke of Buckingham, Laurence Earl of Rochester, Sir Simon Harcourt, knight, Robert Harley and William Shippen, Esqrs. Abigail Masham, spinster, ‡ and others, for high treason against the junto.

“ Resolved,

“ That Sarah Duchess of Marlborough has been a most dutiful, just, and grateful servant to her majesty.

* Nicholas Lechmere was one of the managers against Dr Sacheverel, and summed up the evidence. He was afterwards chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and attorney-general, and is the hero of the ballad entitled, “ Duke upon Duke.”

† Altered afterwards to James Duke of Ormond.

‡ This slip of the pen brought the Examiner under the correction of his foes, for Abigail Masham was a married woman.

“ Resolved,

“ That to advise the dissolution of a Whig parliament, or the removal of a Whig ministry, was in order to bring in Popery and the Pretender ; and that the said advice was high treason.

“ Resolved,

“ That by the original compact, the government of this realm is by a junto, and a king, or queen ; but the administration solely in the junto.

“ Ordered,

“ That a bill be brought in for farther limiting the prerogative.

“ Ordered,

“ That it be a standing order of this House, that the merit of elections be not determined by the number of voices, or right of electors, but by weight ; and that one Whig shall weigh down ten Tories.

“ A motion being made, and the question being put, that when a Whig is detected of manifest bribery, and his competitor, being a Tory, has ten to one a majority, there shall be a new election ; it passed in the negative.

“ Resolved,

“ That for a king, or queen of this realm to read, or examine a paper brought them to be signed by a junto minister, is arbitrary and illegal, and a violation of the liberties of the people.”

These, and the like reformations, would in all probability be the first fruits of the Whigs resurrection ; and what structures such able artists might in a short time build upon such foundations, I leave others to conjecture. All hopes of a peace cut off ; the nation industriously involved in farther debts, to a degree that none would dare undertake the management of affairs, but those whose interest lay in

ruining the constitution; I do not see how the wisest prince, under such necessities, could be able to extricate himself. Then as to the church; the bishops would by degrees be dismissed, first from the parliament, next from their revenues, and at last from their office; and the clergy, instead of their idle claim of independency on the state, would be forced to depend for their daily bread on every individual. But what system of future government was designed; whether it were already digested, or would have been left for time and incidents to mature, I shall not now examine. Only upon this occasion I cannot help reflecting on a fact, which it is probable the reader knows as well as myself. There was a picture drawn some time ago, representing five persons, as large as the life, sitting in council together, like a pentarchy; a void space was left for the sixth, which was to have been the queen, to whom they intended that honour; but her majesty having since fallen under their displeasure, they have made a shift to crowd in two better friends in her place, which makes it a complete heptarchy*. This piece is now in the country, reserved until better times; and hangs in the hall among the pictures of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and some other predecessors.

I must now desire leave to say something to a gentleman who has been pleased to publish a discourse against a paper of mine, relating to the convocation. He promises to set me right without any undue reflections, or indecent language. I suppose he means, in comparison with others who

* The seven leaders of the opposition, here and elsewhere alluded to, were Marlborough, Godolphin, Somers, Cowper, Sunderland, Boyle, and Walpole.

pretend to answer the Examiner. So far he is right; but, if he thinks he has behaved himself as becomes a candid antagonist, I believe he is mistaken. He says in his title page, my representations are unfair, and my reflections unjust: and his conclusion is yet more severe; where he doubts I and my friends are enraged against the Dutch, because they preserved us from Popery and arbitrary power at the Revolution; and since that time, from being overrun by the exorbitant power of France, and becoming a prey to the Pretender. Because this author seems in general to write with an honest meaning, I would seriously put to him the question, whether he thinks I and my friends are for Popery, arbitrary power, France, and the Pretender? I omit other instances of smaller moment, which however do not suit in my opinion with due reflection, or decent language. The fact relating to the convocation came from a good hand; and I do not find this author differs from me in any material circumstance about it. My reflections were no more than what might be obvious to any other gentleman who had heard of their late proceedings. If the notion be right which this author gives us of a Lower House of Convocation, it is a very melancholy one; and to me seems utterly inconsistent with that of a body of men, whom he owns to have a negative: and therefore, since a great majority of the clergy differs from him in several points he advances, I shall rather choose to be of their opinion than his.* I fancy when the whole synod met in

* Swift had, in the EXAMINER, No. 21, given some account of the opening of the Convocation, which was taxed by the Whigs as inaccurate in the following particulars. First, Because the Upper House did not send the address and letter to the Lower House, as there stated, but read the letter to the prolocutor, and

one house, as this writer affirms, they were upon a better foot with their bishops ; and therefore, whether this treatment, so extremely *de haut en bas*, since their exclusion, be suitable to primitive custom or primitive humility toward brethren, is not my business to inquire. One may allow the divine or apostolic right of episcopacy, and its great superiority over presbyters, and yet dispute the methods of exercising the latter, which, being of human institution, are subject to encroachments and usurpations. I know every clergyman in a diocese has a great deal of dependence upon his bishop, and owes him canonical obedience : but I was apt to think, that when the whole representative of the clergy met in a synod, they were considered in another light ; at least since they are allowed to have a negative. If I am mistaken, I desire to be excused, as talking out of my trade ; only there is one thing, wherein I entirely differ from this author : since, in the disputes about privileges, one side must recede ; where so very few privileges remain, it is a hundred to one odds, that the encroachments are not on the inferior clergy's side ; and no man can blame them for insisting on the small number that is left. There is one fact, wherein I must take occasion to set this author right : that the person, *

retaining it as directed to the archbishop, sent down the draught of their address without it. Second, That the excuse for not noticing the letter in the address, was made to the prolocutor *viva voce*, and not sent to the Lower House in the form of a message. Third, That the Lower House did not return to the Upper the letter and address, but the address alone. It is obvious, that these and other verbal cavils leave the general truth of the Examiner's statement unimpeached. The rest of this Number is occupied in discussing the respective privileges of the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation.

* Earl of Oxford, lord-treasurer.

who first moved the queen to remit the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy, was an eminent instrument in the late turn of affairs; and, I am told, has lately prevailed to have the same favour granted for the clergy of Ireland.*

But I must beg leave to inform this author, that my paper is not intended for the management of controversy; which would be of very little import to most readers, and only mispend time, that I would gladly employ to better purposes. For where it is a man's business to entertain a whole roomfull, it is unmannerly to apply himself to a particular person, and turn his back upon the rest of the company.

No. XXVI.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1710-11.

Ea autem est gloria, laus recte factorum, magnorumque in rempublicam meritorum: quæ cum optimi cujusque, tum etiam multitudinis, testimonio comprobatur.

That is real honour and true praise for glorious actions to a meritorious state, when they gain the commendation and esteem of the great, and, at the same time, the love and approbation of the common people.

I AM thinking what a mighty advantage it is to be entertained as a writer to a ruined cause. I re-

* This was done by the mediation of Swift himself.

member a fanatic preacher, who was inclined to come into the church and take orders ; but, upon mature thoughts, was diverted from that design, when he considered, that the collections of the godly were a much heartier and readier penny than he could get by wrangling for tithes. He certainly had reason ; and the two cases are parallel. If you write in defence of a fallen party, you are maintained by contribution, as a necessary person : you have little more to do than to carp and cavil at those who hold the pen on the other side ; you are sure to be celebrated and caressed by all your party, to a man : you may affirm and deny what you please without truth or probability, since it is but loss of time to contradict you. Besides, commiseration is often on your side ; and you have a pretence to be thought honest and disinterested for adhering to friends in distress : after which, if your friends ever happen to turn up again, you have a strong fund of merit toward making your fortune. Then, you never fail to be well furnished with materials, every one bringing in his quota, and falsehood being naturally more plentiful than truth : not to mention the wonderful delight of libelling men in power, and hugging yourself in a corner with mighty satisfaction for what you have done.

It is quite otherwise with us, who engage as volunteers in the service of a flourishing ministry, in full credit with the queen, and beloved by the people ; because they have no sinister ends or dangerous designs, but pursue with steadiness and resolution the true interest of both. Upon which account they little want or desire our assistance ; and we may write till the world is weary of reading, without having our pretences allowed, either to a place or a pension : besides, we are refused the common benefit of the party, to have our works cried

up of course ; the readers of our own side being as ungente, and hard to please, as if we writ against them : and our papers never make their way in the world, but barely in proportion to their merit. The design of their labours who write on the conquered side, is likewise of greater importance than ours : they are like cordials for dying men, which must be repeated ; whereas ours are, in the scripture phrase, but meat for babes : at least, all I can pretend is, to undeceive the ignorant, and those at a distance ; but their task is to keep up the sinking spirits of a whole party.

After such reflections, I cannot be angry with those gentlemen for perpetually writing against me ; it furnishes them largely with topics, and is, besides, their proper business ; neither is it affectation, or altogether scorn, that I do not reply. But as things are, we both act suitable to our several provinces ; mine is, by laying open some corruptions in the late management, to set those that are ignorant right in their opinions of persons and things : it is theirs, to cover with fig-leaves all the faults of their friends, as well as they can. When I have produced my facts, and offered my arguments, I have nothing farther to advance ; it is their office to deny, and disprove ; and then let the world decide. If I were as they, my chief endeavour should certainly be to batter down the Examiner ; therefore I cannot but approve their design. Besides, they have another reason for barking incessantly at this paper : they have in their prints openly taxed a most ingenious person as author of it ; one who is in great, and very deserved reputation with the world, both on account of his poetical works, and his talents for public business.

* Matthew Prior was generally suspected to be the author

They were wise enough to consider what a sanction it would give their performances, to fall under the animadversion of such a pen; and therefore used all the forms of provocation commonly practised by little obscure pedants, who are fond of distinguishing themselves by the fame of an adversary. So nice a taste have these judicious critics in pretending to discover an author by his style and manner of thinking! not to mention the justice and candour of exhausting all the stale topics of scurrility in reviling a paper, and then flinging at a venture the whole load upon one who is entirely innocent; and whose greatest fault, perhaps, is too much gentleness toward a party, from whose leaders he has received quite contrary treatment.

The concern I have for the ease and reputation of so deserving a gentleman, has at length forced me, much against my interest and inclination, to let these angry people know, who is not the author of the Examiner. For I observed the opinion began to spread, and I chose rather to sacrifice the honour I received by it, than let injudicious people entitle him to a performance that perhaps he might have reason to be ashamed of: still faithfully promising never to disturb those worthy advocates, but suffer them in quiet to roar on at the Examiner, if they or their party find any ease in it; as physicians say there is to people in torment, such as men in the gout, or women in labour.

However, I must acknowledge myself indebted to them for one hint, which I shall now pursue, although in a different manner. Since the fall of the

the Examiner. He had indeed written several of the first papers, and borne the brunt of the battle against the Whig Examiners of Addison.

late ministry, I have seen many papers filled with their encomiums; I conceive, in imitation of those who write the lives of famous men, where after their deaths immediately follow their characters. When I saw the poor virtues thus dealt at random, I thought the disposers had flung their names, like valentines, into a hat, to be drawn as fortune pleased, by the junto and their friends. There Crassus* drew liberty and gratitude; Fulvia,† humility and gentleness; Clodius,‡ piety and justice; Gracchus,§ loyalty to his prince; Cinna,|| love of his country and constitution; and so of the rest. Or, to quit this allegory, I have often seen, of late, the whole set of discarded statesmen celebrated by their judicious hirelings, for those very qualities which their admirers owned they chiefly wanted. Did these heroes put off and lock up their virtues, when they came into employment; and have they now resumed them since their dismissions? If they wore them, I am sure it was under their greatness, and without ever once convincing the world of their visibility or influence.

But, why should not the present ministry find a pen to praise them, as well as the last? This is what I shall now undertake; and it may be more impartial in me, from whom they have deserved so little. I have, without being called, served them half a year in quality of champion; and, by help of the queen, and a majority of nine in ten of the kingdom, have been able to protect them against a

* Marlborough.

† Duchess of Marlborough.

‡ Whiston, whose profligacy was notorious.

§ Probably Godolphin.

|| Cowper, perhaps.

routed cabal of hated politicians, with a dozen of scribblers at their head : yet, so far have they been from rewarding me suitably to my deserts, that to this day they never so much as sent to the printer to inquire who I was ; although I have known a time and ministry, where a person of half my merit and consideration would have had fifty promises ; and, in the mean time, a pension settled on him, whereof the first quarter should be honestly paid. Therefore my resentments shall so far prevail, that in praising those who are now at the head of affairs, I shall, at the same time, take notice of their defects.

Was any man more eminent in his profession than the present lord-keeper, * or more distinguished by his eloquence and great abilities in the House of Commons ? and will not his enemies allow him to be fully equal to the great station he now adorns ? But then it must be granted, that he is wholly ignorant in the speculative, as well as practical part of polygamy ; † he knows not how to metamorphose a sober man into a lunatic ; ‡ he is no free-

* Sir Simon Harcourt, afterward Lord Harcourt, became lord-keeper upon the resignation of the lord-chancellor Cowper.

† See Nos. 17 and 22.

‡ Alluding to a commission of idiocy granted in 1709 against Richard, fifth Viscount Wenman. This unfortunate nobleman was under the management of Francis Wroughton, Esq. his father-in-law, and of Miss Wroughton, his sister, whom he married. He was sued by his brothers-in-law for payment of his sisters' portions, who further demanded, that, in consideration of Lord Wenman's imbecillity, his estate might be put under the management of trustees. The matter, as the most unlikely things often do, became a party question ; and, as it was finally decided against Lord Wenman by chancellor Cowper, is the foundation of, the sarcasm in the text.—See the *Additional Notes to Tatler*, Vol. II. p. 366, edit. 1786.

thinker in religion, nor has courage to be patron of an atheistical book, while he is guardian of the queen's conscience. Although, after all, to speak my private opinion, I cannot think these such mighty objections to his character as some would pretend.

The person who now presides at the council, * is descended from a great and honourable father, not from the dregs of the people; he was at the head of the treasury for some years, and rather chose to enrich his prince than himself. In the height of favour and credit, he sacrificed the greatest employment in the kingdom to his conscience and honour; he has been always firm in his loyalty and religion, zealous for supporting the prerogative of the crown, and preserving the liberties of the people. But then his best friends must own, that he is neither deist nor socinian; he has never conversed with Toland to open and enlarge his thoughts, and dispel the prejudices of education; nor was he ever able to arrive at that perfection of gallantry, to ruin and imprison the husband, in order to keep the wife without disturbance. †

* Laurence Hyde, late Earl of Rochester, in the room of Lord Somers, whose low birth and freethinking principles are here sneered at.

† Mrs Manley, in a Supplement to the New Atalantes, entitled, "The Memoirs of Europe towards the close of the Eighth Century," thus enlarges on the intrigue laid to the charge of the celebrated Lord Somers: "Cicero himself, (Somers) an oracle of wisdom, was whirled about by his lusts at the pleasure of a fantastic worn-out mistress. He prostituted his inimitable sense, reason, and good nature, either to revenge or reward, as her caprice directed; and what made this commerce more detestable, this mistress of his was a wife! Impious excess! Abominable adultery! Were there not enough of the frail race unmarried? Had not Sergius's (Wharton's) immemorial assiduities corrupted enough of that order, but this patrician, this director of nations and im-

The present lord-steward has been always distinguished for his wit and knowledge ; is of consummate wisdom and experience in affairs ; has continued constant to the true interest of the nation, which he espoused from the beginning ; and is every way qualified to support the dignity of his office : but, in point of oratory, must give place to his predecessor.*

perial assemblies, must bring his pollutions to defile the marriage bed, and corrupt a wife ? nay, which is more execrable, the wife of a friend. Was it not a good comedy, or rather a farce, when you beheld this sententious man, this decisive orator, who, by the enchantments of his persuasion, left not even destiny to herself, for fate and fortune were, whenever he spoke, his slaves—to see this great, this stupendous man, that could enchant an empire with the music of his voice, skulking in the obscene habit of a slave, hiding his face in an abject robe, as if that could conceal his vices ; waiting at a back door to get undiscovered entrance into his own palace, after passing the guilty night in adultery with an infamous prostitute ; and this not for once or twice, but for months and years, till his sin was become as confirmed a habit as his hypocrisy ! The poor husband, distracted with his wrongs, grows incapable of following the necessary duties of his calling, by which neglect his maintenance fell, and he drank the bitter draught of poverty ; the adulterers rioting in all the luxuries of the east ; shifting abodes in scandalous bye-corners from place to place, for fear the cuckold's prerogative should seize upon the ornaments and riches of his wife as lawful spoil ; which, when he was so lucky as to do, the vindictive patrician interposed with a thorough revenge, first casting him into a loathsome prison, where, when he had sufficiently languished, a warrant was produced to the gaoler to deliver his prisoner to some persons, who receiving him into their custody, disposed of him in such sort, that to this day he has never been heard of. Let the idolaters (Whigs) consider how much they ought to pride themselves in the morality, religion, and virtue, of this atlas of their empire."

* John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, in the room of the Duke of Devonshire. This last nobleman was a worthy and accomplished man, but it would seem no orator.

The Duke of Shrewsbury* was highly instrumental in bringing about the Revolution, in which service he freely exposed his life and fortune. He has ever been the favourite of the nation, being possessed of all the amiable qualities that can accomplish a great man; but, in the agreeableness and fragrantcy of his person, and the profoundness of his politics, must be allowed to fall very short of —

Mr Harley† had the honour of being chosen speaker successively to three parliaments. He was the first, of late years, who ventured to restore the forgotten custom of treating his prince with duty and respect; easy and disengaged in private conversation, with such a weight of affairs upon his shoulders; of great learning, and as great a favourer and protector of it; intrepid by nature, as well as by the consciousness of his own integrity; and a despiser of money, pursuing the true interest of his prince and country against all obstacles; sagacious to view into the remotest consequences of things, by which all difficulties fly before him; a firm friend, and a placable enemy, sacrificing his justest resentments, not only to public good, but to common intercession and acknowledgment. Yet, with all these virtues, it must be granted, there is some mixture of human infirmity. His greatest admirers must confess his skill at cards and dice to be very low and superficial: in horse-racing he is utterly ignorant; then, to save a few millions to the public, he never regards how many worthy ci-

* Lord chamberlain, in the room of Henry de Grey, Earl, and successively Marquis and Duke of Kent.

† Chancellor of the exchequer, upon the removal of Lord Godolphin.

tizens he hinders from making up their plumb. * And surely there is one thing never to be forgiven him, that he delights to have his table filled with black coats, whom he uses as if they were gentlemen.

My Lord Dartmouth † is a man of letters, full of good sense, good nature, and honour ; of strict virtue and regularity in his life ; but labours under one great defect, that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners, than others in his station have done the queen.

Omitting some others, I shall close this character of the present ministry with that of Mr St John ; ‡ who, from his youth, applying those admirable talents of nature, and improvements of art, to public business, grew eminent in court and parliament, at an age when the generality of mankind is employed in trifles and folly. It is to be lamented, that he has not yet procured himself a busy, important countenance ; nor learned that profound part of wisdom, to be difficult of access. Besides, he has clearly mistaken the true use of books, which he has thumbed and spoiled with reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his shelves : not like a great man of my acquaintance, who knew a book by the back, better than a friend by the face ;

* Lord Godolphin was fond of gaming and horse-racing. Hence, in the satire called *Sid Hamet's Rod*, Swift exhorts him to cut his staff of office into a Newmarket switch. It seems to be here insinuated, that his mode of managing the funds gave undue advantages to the creditors of the public.

† He succeeded the Earl of Sunderland as secretary of state. His predecessor, like most of the Marlborough family, to which he was allied by marrying one of the Duke's daughters, had endeavoured rather to compel, than to solicit the queen's compliance with their measures.

‡ Secretary of state, in the room of Mr Henry Boyle.

although he had never conversed with the former, and often with the latter.

No. XXVII.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1710-11.

Caput est in omni procuratione negotii et muneris publici, ut avaritiæ pellatur etiam minima suspicio.

In every employment, in every public office, it is of the utmost importance to keep free from even the least suspicion of avarice. *

THERE is no vice which mankind carries to such wild extremes, as that of avarice. Those two which seem to rival it in this point, are lust and ambition; but the former is checked by difficulties and diseases, destroys itself by its own pursuits, and usually declines with old age; and the latter requiring courage, conduct, and fortune in a high degree, and meeting with a thousand dangers and oppositions, succeeds too seldom in an age to fall under common observation. Or, avarice is perhaps the same passion with ambition; only placed

* This extremely severe paper relates entirely to that great blemish in the character of Marlborough, his insatiable thirst for money.

in more ignoble and dastardly minds, by which the object is changed from power to money. Or it may be that one man pursues power in order to wealth; and another wealth, in order to power; which last is the safer way, although longer about; and suiting with every period, as well as condition of life, is more generally followed.

However it be, the extremes of this passion are certainly more frequent than of any other; and often to a degree so absurd and ridiculous, that if it were not for their frequency, they could hardly obtain belief. The stage, which carries other follies and vices beyond nature and probability, falls very short in the representations of avarice; nor are there any extravagances of this kind described by ancient or modern comedies, which are not outdone by a hundred instances commonly told among ourselves.

I am ready to conclude hence, that a vice which keeps so firm a hold upon human nature, and governs it with so unlimited a tyranny, since it cannot wholly be eradicated, ought at least to be confined to particular objects; to thrift and penury, to private fraud and extortion, and never suffered to prey upon the public; and should certainly be rejected as the most unqualifying circumstance for any employment, where bribery and corruption can possibly enter.

If the mischiefs of this vice in a public station were confined to enriching only those particular persons employed, the evil would be more supportable: but it is usually quite otherwise. When a steward defrauds his lord, he must connive at the rest of the servants, while they are following the same practice in their several spheres: so that in some families you may observe a subordination of knaves, in a link downward to the very helper in

the stables, all cheating by concert, and with impunity. And even if this were all, perhaps the master could bear it without being undone; but it so happens, that for every shilling the servant gets by iniquity, the master loses twenty; the perquisites of servants being but small compositions for suffering shopkeepers to bring in what bills they please. It is exactly the same thing in a state: an avaricious man in office, is in confederacy with the whole clan of his district or dependence: which in modern terms of art, is called to live and let live; and yet their gains are the smallest part of the public's loss. Give a guinea to a knavish land-waiter, and he shall connive at the merchant for cheating the queen of a hundred. A brewer gives a bribe to have the privilege of selling drink to the navy; but the fraud is a hundred times greater than the bribe, and the public is at the whole loss. *

Moralists make two kinds of avarice; that of Cataline, *alieni appetens, sui profusus*; and the other more generally understood by that name, which is the endless desire of hoarding. But I take the former to be more dangerous in a state, because it mingles with ambition, which I think the latter cannot; for, although the same breast may be capable of admitting both, it is not able to cultivate

* The Examiner is here, to use a sportsman's phrase, *drawing upon* a noted point of accusation against Marlborough, his having received an annual present of between 5000*l.* and 6000*l.*, from Sir Solomon Medina, who contracted to supply bread to the army. The Duke, when this was brought forward, could only allege in his defence, that it was "a perquisite always allowed to the general or commander in chief in the Low Countries, both before the Revolution, and since." The sums thus received by his Grace amounted to no less than L. 63,309: 3: 7.

them; and where the love of heaping wealth prevails, there is not in my opinion much to be apprehended from ambition. The disgrace of that sordid vice is sooner apt to spread than any other; and is always attended with the hatred and scorn of the people: so that whenever those two passions happen to meet in the same subject, it is not unlikely that Providence has placed avarice to be a check upon ambition; and I have reason to think, some great ministers of state have been of my opinion.

The divine authority of holy writ, the precepts of philosophers, the lashes and ridicule of satirical poets, have been all employed in exploding this insatiable thirst of money; and all equally controlled by the daily practice of mankind. Nothing new remains to be said upon the occasion; and if there did, I must remember my character, that I am an Examiner only, and not a Reformer.

However, in those cases where the frailties of particular men do nearly affect the public welfare, such as a prime minister of state, or a great general of an army, methinks there should be some expedient contrived to let them know impartially what is the world's opinion in the point. Encompassed with a crowd of depending flatterers, they are many degrees blinder to their own faults, than the common infirmities of human nature can plead in their excuse. Advice dares not to be offered, or is wholly lost, or returned with hatred: and whatever appears in public against their prevailing vice, goes for nothing; being either not applied, or passing only for libel and slander, proceeding from the malice and envy of party.

I have sometimes thought, that if I had lived at Rome in the time of the first triumvirate, I should have been tempted to write a letter, as from an un-

known hand, to those three great men who had then usurped the sovereign power; wherein I would freely and sincerely tell each of them that fault which I conceived was most odious, and of worst consequence to the commonwealth. That to Crassus should have been sent to him after his conquests in Mesopotamia, and in the following terms :

“ To Marcus Crassus, health.

“ If you apply, as you ought, what I now write, you will be more obliged to me than to all the world, hardly excepting your parents or your country. I intend to tell you, without disguise or prejudice, the opinion which the world has entertained of you; and to let you see I write this without any sort of ill-will, you shall first hear the sentiments they have to your advantage. No man disputes the gracefulness of your person; you are allowed to have a good and clear understanding, cultivated by the knowledge of men and manners, although not by literature; you are no ill orator in the senate; you are said to excel in the art of bridling and subduing your anger, and stifling or concealing your resentments; you have been a most successful general, of long experience, great conduct, and much personal courage; you have gained many important victories for the commonwealth, and forced the strongest towns in Mesopotamia to surrender, for which frequent supplications have been decreed by the senate. Yet, with all these qualities, and this merit, give me leave to say, you are neither beloved by the patricians nor plebeians at home, nor by the officers or private soldiers of your own army abroad. And do you know, Crassus, that this is owing to a fault of which you may cure yourself by one minute's reflection? What

shall I say? You are the richest person in the commonwealth; you have no male child; your daughters are all married to wealthy patricians; you are far in the decline of life, and yet you are deeply stained with that odious and ignoble vice of covetousness. It is affirmed, that you descend even to the meanest and most scandalous degrees of it; and while you possess so many millions, while you are daily acquiring so many more, you are solicitous how to save a single sesterce; of which a hundred ignominious instances are produced, and in all men's mouths. I will only mention that passage of the buskins,* which, after abundance of persuasion, you would hardly suffer to be cut from your legs, when they were so wet and cold, that to have kept them on would have endangered your life.

Instead of using the common arguments to dissuade you from this weakness, I will endeavour to convince you, that you are really guilty of it; and leave the cure to your own good sense. For perhaps you are not yet persuaded that this is your crime; you have probably never yet been reproached for it to your face; and what you are now told comes from one unknown, and it may be from an enemy. You will allow yourself indeed to be prudent in the management of your fortune; you are not a prodigal, like Clodius, or Cataline; but surely that deserves not the name of avarice. I will in-

* I am ignorant of this anecdote of the Duke of Marlborough's wet boots. But it is somewhere given as an instance of his parsimony, that on the evening before the battle of Blenheim, while he was adjusting the plan of that memorable fight with Prince Eugene, he observed, that his attendants had placed two wax-lights on the table in his tent, and very composedly extinguished one of them.

form you how to be convinced. Disguise your person, go among the common people in Rome, introduce discourses about yourself, inquire your own character : do the same in your camp ; walk about it in the evening, hearken at every tent ; and if you do not hear every mouth censuring, lamenting, cursing this vice in you, and even you for this vice, conclude yourself innocent. If you be not yet persuaded, send for Atticus, Servius Sulpicius, Cato, or Brutus ; they are all your friends ; conjure them to tell you ingeniously, which is your great fault, and which they would chiefly wish you to correct ; if they do not agree in their verdict, in the name of all the gods you are acquitted.

When your adversaries reflect how far you are gone in this vice, they are tempted to talk as if we owed our successes not to your courage or conduct, but to those veteran troops you command, who are able to conquer under any general, with so many brave and experienced officers to lead them. Besides, we know the consequences your avarice has often occasioned. The soldier has been starving for bread, surrounded with plenty, and in an enemy's country ; but all under safeguards and contributions ; which, if you had sometimes pleased to have exchanged for provisions, might, at the expense of a few talents in a campaign, have so endeared you to the army, that they would have desired you to lead them to the utmost limits of Asia. But you rather chose to confine your conquests within the fruitful country of Mesopotamia, where plenty of money might be raised. How far that fatal greediness of gold may have influenced you, in breaking off the treaty with the old Parthian king Orodes, * you best can tell ; your enemies

* Alluding to the treaty at Gertruydenberg.

charge you with it; your friends offer nothing material in your defence; and all agree, there is nothing so pernicious which the extremes of avarice may not be able to inspire.

The moment you quit this vice, you will be a truly great man; and still there will imperfections enough remain to convince us, you are not a god. Farewell."

Perhaps a letter of this nature, sent to so reasonable a man as Crassus, might have put him upon examining into himself, and correcting that little sordid appetite, so utterly inconsistent with all pretences to heroism. A youth in the heat of blood, may plead, with some show of reason, that he is not able to subdue his lusts. An ambitious man may use the same arguments for his love of power; or perhaps other arguments to justify it. But excess of avarice has neither of these pleas to offer; it is not to be justified, and cannot pretend temptation for excuse. Whence can the temptation come? Reason disclaims it altogether; and it cannot be said to lodge in the blood or the animal spirits. So that I conclude, no man of true valour, and true understanding, upon whom this vice has stolen unawares, when he is convinced he is guilty, will suffer it to remain in his breast an hour.

END OF VOLUME THIRD.

EDINBURGH;

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